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STRIKE!

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The Newspaper Dedicated to Direct Action

2nd Class Mail
Registration #5386

Solidarnosc Prisoners Released

Life in the Underground

By Brian Amesly

The Jaruzelski regime described it as a humanitarian gesture. In fact, the release of 652 political prisoners in an amnesty announced on July 22 was a calculated political act. The purpose of the decree was two-fold. In one respect it was designed as a concession to Western public opinion. This would possibly result in the end of the West's economic sanctions. The amnesty covering almost all of Poland's political prisoners was also intended as a show of strength. The regime could appear self-confident. Its policy of 'normalization' could appear as a growing success.

But as publicity stunts go the move was at best a marginal success. Reagan has only responded with a partial removal of his costly sanctions. There is no major indication that the policy of 'normalization' is any more credible as a result.

Inside Poland the Church applauded the amnesty. It precipitated another of the Catholic hierarchy's pathetic appeals for a "national reconciliation." Walesa reacted similarly although he at least called for a restoration of the political rights of those released. Forever the voice of 'moderation' Walesa continues to receive nothing but scorn and police harassment from a state which neither will nor can tolerate an independent workers' movement.

Solidarnosc as a whole assesses the situation more realistically. Previous to the amnesty it contended that the now annual amnesties are a product of sustained internal and external pressure for an end to political repression. Solidarnosc appreciates that they can only have real meaning given this condition. Implicit in this position is its commitment to active resistance until the repression stops.

Nonetheless, Solidarnosc continues to push for the realization of a national compromise which respects the Communist Party's leading role in Polish society and Poland's place in the Warsaw Pact alliance. In reality the underground's activists do not seem to really believe such a compromise is workable. Its assertion seems to be viewed as a tactical necessity.

Still Alive and Well

Whatever the case may be any actual attempt to forge such a compromise will depend on the long term strength of the underground's resistance. The state will only concede what it is forced to. Given this it is critical to appreciate that the Solidarnosc underground remains very much alive and well. This is contrary to the regime's pretense of success attached to the amnesty.

Martial Law was declared over two and a half years ago. Yet Solidarnosc still has an estimated one million plus membership as well as several million passive supporters. The number of union activists stands at about 100,000.

Solidarnosc is continuing to maintain its original organizational structures. The focus of the union's activity is now on informational, organizational and educational work. The underground press remains resilient. There are



still about 600 underground publications appearing across Poland. Some have circulations in the tens of thousands. In addition, Radio Solidarnosc continues to make irregular broadcasts in several parts of the country.

The relative absence of spectacular protest actions is responsible for many people outside of Poland thinking the union is greatly weakened. It is true that the massive demonstrations of 1982 are a thing of the past. However it is also true that the union considers them less desirable. Brutal experience has shown that mass demonstrations normally invite awesome shows of force by the ZOMO riot police. On top of this the resulting repression weakens the underground financially and organizationally through large scale arrests. For all this these actions have brought little positive result.

Major strikes are not attempted. Strikes do occur but they tend to be brief and localized. They are usually motivated by economic grievances. Even so they are important developments and get widely publicized in the underground press.

The most obvious sign of Solidarnosc's continued strength within the working class is the failure of the officially sanctioned unions. After close to two years of existence they have only recruited a small minority of the country's workers. In many workplaces the bulk of their members either belong to the Party or are management personnel.

Election Boycott

The most important test of strength between the underground and the regime occurred on June 17th. Solidarnosc waged a lengthy campaign calling for a boycott of the elections to Poland's "People's Councils" held on that day. Contradicting official estimates in the range of 75% the union's election commissions

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Elections? No Thanks!

By Jon Bekken

The seemingly interminable two-year presidential campaign is finally nearing its end. It is, however, too soon to celebrate the end of this quadrennial farce and return to the day-to-day business of surviving the governmental onslaught. As you read this we are being subjected to renewed media hype exhorting us to vote for the politician of the bosses' choice.

It's Mondale or Reagan and interest is already waning. As the Democratic primary season neared its close, voter turnout plunged to its lowest levels ever, despite massive increases in minority voting stimulated by the performance of huckster Jesse Jackson. Indeed, Jackson, who has been a moderate conservative all his life but jumped early in his campaign to stake out a position as the candidate of the left liberals, represents a last-ditch effort to reintegrate heavily marginalized sectors of the U.S. population back into the political mainstream. Such an effort seems to have met with at least short-term success.

However, Jackson's posturing must now clear the stage for the Mondale campaign, and it is hard to see how anyone except the business union bureaucracy can be expected to maintain any interest in Mondale. Mondale, after all, was part of the infamous Carter team, which sent the U.S. advisors down to El Salvador (they're still there, although the liberals now like to blame Reagan for their presence), submitted the first of the budgets to bolster

military spending at the expense of massive cuts in social service and welfare spending, reinstituted registration for the draft, and carried out a wide range of anti-union activities, including the drafting of the plans to bust the PATCO Union later implemented by Reagan. Mondale cannot hope to escape his share of responsibility for these and scores of other similar crimes.

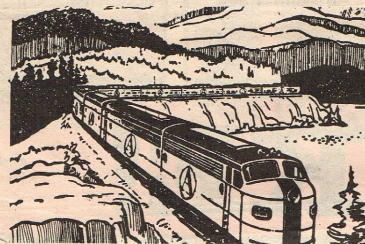
On the other hand, Mondale can hope to gain votes from many people repulsed by Reagan's economic policies, his war-mongering, his scandal-tainted administration, as well as from those workers who have seen their living standards deteriorate dramatically over the past few years. Thus, it is impossible to say what will happen when the polls open in November.

What is clear, however, is that the stench will keep many away. Government statistics show that the percentage of voting age population who cast ballots for any presidential candidate has been steadily declining since 1960. In 1980, the percentage of the voting age population who participated in the quadrennial farce barely topped 50%. It could well plunge below that mark this year, as increasing numbers of people come to recognize that no politician can represent their interests or implement the kinds of fundamental changes that are needed.

The efforts to convince people, particularly those that have been effectively marginalized or disenfranchised, that they have a stake in

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FOR STARTERS



With the summer season almost over, it has become increasingly difficult to use the hot weather as an excuse to procrastinate. Don't think for a moment that an excuse is necessary in order to feel comfortable doing nothing. Alas, human psychology, especially the psychology of a political activist, always works in such a way that one tends to feel better when external circumstances force us into a state of blissful oblivion. So much for my reflections on procrastination... More important matters await us.

STRIKE! wishes to announce that a fund-raising drive will be launched in our next issue. Hopefully, your generosity will replenish our dwindling resources. Secondly, as you have already noticed STRIKE! published a debate

on religion in the last issue. In response to this debate, a rather long letter by Lev Cherny of the Columbia Anarchist League was sent to us. We have decided to publish this letter in the form of an article in this issue because the collective feels that it nicely summarizes our own theoretical position on religion.

Recently, a copy of the sentencing statements by three of the Vancouver Five was sent to STRIKE! Unfortunately, the statements are much too long for this issue. Together with our own commentary, we shall present to our readers the unedited version of the statements in our next issue.

Lastly, on behalf of my friend and comrade Ken Deyarmond, the STRIKE! collective appeals to our readers for support. The details of Ken's case can be found on page 8 of this issue.

Letters to STRIKE!

Seeking Liberatory Forces

Dear STRIKE!

I want to begin by congratulating you on your fine, fine issue. I have long believed that the anarchist movement must rid itself of nihilism, syndicalism, and the apocalyptic theory of revolution if it wishes to be effective. I found evidence of all three of these in the writings (one article, one letter) of Keith Sorel.

Nihilism is the tendency to trash the system without offering anything in its place. Syndicalism is obviously the belief that the "historic mission" of the working class will impel it to deliver us all from evil. And the apocalyptic theory of revolution is the tendency to treat revolution as an event, rather than as a process.

I want to make clear that I am highly sympathetic to his criticisms of the Green Party, and I'm sure his account of the Kelly/Bastion roadshow is quite accurate. What disturbs me is his offering the "autonomists" as the alternative.

I don't know very much about the autonomists, but I do know a few things. I know that their heroes — the Red Army Faction — are a bunch of proto-fascists, and have done more to reinforce the German people in their reactionary ideology and character structure than any provocateurs ever could. I know they have adopted a reductive "anti-imperialist" analysis which leads them to condemn anyone who dares to raise slogans critical of both superpowers. I know that apart from attention-grabbing riots, they have done very little to articulate a positive vision of the society they would like to see constructed (something STRIKE! should take to heart in light of Colin Ward's experience). By contrast, the "Green movement" (which, for better or worse, spawned the Green Party) has done far more to relate to the everyday concerns of German workers, farmers, and youth, and to channel these in a radical, reconstructive direction, than the "spontis" ever have (or will).

Keith also talks rather glibly about civil war, which leads me to assume two things about his position. First, that he thinks it is possible to defeat nuclear weapons with M-16's and, secondly, that it is possible to win a revolution with a minority of the population on our side.

The absurdity of the first point is obvious.

As for the second, while the revolutionary process may be capped by armed struggle, victory or defeat will not be decided by force of arms. To paraphrase Murray Bookchin, only by a process of hollowing out capitalist institutions to the point where they virtually collapse for want of support will it be possible to overthrow the bourgeoisie. And anyone who thinks that a replay of weatherman-style politics is going to do this is living in cloud-cuckoo land.

It was once said that the way to make a syndicalist was to take one slightly used Trotskyite, stir and — voila! — you have a syndicalist. People have been waiting for the working class to "assert their own class interests" for 150 years, and they'll be waiting until hell freezes over. It's time to take a leap into the 20th century, and to identify other potentially liberatory forces.

Sincerely,
Ron Hayley

P.S. I do think war has something to do with "male psychology" — after all, men created wars as indeed they created the whole violence-ridden structure of patriarchy (read: civilization).

STRIKE!'s Response: There is nothing intrinsically liberating or profound about being "modern". What is old is not necessarily false. The struggle for freedom and justice is perhaps as old as recorded history itself, but this fact alone does not render it obsolete. So long as the conditions of unfreedom exist, the struggle will continue to persist. Are you claiming that this society is no longer a class society? If not,

why then do you find the issues of class struggle so distasteful? Or are you perhaps advocating a theory of class without a working class? If you cannot tell the substantive differences between a corporate executive and a desk clerk, and refuse to recognize the vital implications entailed within those differences, your theory of "civilization" is empty indeed. One does not have to deny reality in order to exor-

cise the Marxist categories.

STRIKE! has never attempted to reduce various forms of human unfreedom and degradation to a single class struggle. We have consistently given prominence to working class related issues because they have been the most neglected aspect of the anarchist struggle in recent years.

Yes, one cannot conceive of an authentic revolution without a positive vision — this much we agree. We further consider your criticism of the "Weatherman-style politics" timely and constructive. It is high time for anarchists to repudiate the utter futility of urban guerrillism, at least in the context of North America today. However, to claim that capitalist institutions can eventually be "hollowed out" simply by creating alternatives is equally deceptive. Standard Oil will NEVER be "hollowed out"; it must be expropriated and dismantled. The decisive question is WHO will be in a position to bring the system to its knees? The experience of Poland is a good beginning. In other words, without the active participation of the majority of the population (most of them happen to belong to the working class), no amount of food co-ops or back-to-the-landers will ever alter the power relations of this society. The bitter experience of the 60's and early 70's should have at least taught us this much. Do you not consider wage cut-backs, for example, a relevant issue for the majority of the population?

Historically, nihilism emerged as an indictment against inhuman society, and as such, it should not be condemned without qualification. So long as the quality of life remains intolerable, nihilism will still have its role to play. No dictum can change that. We find your suggestion of "purifying the anarchist movement much more disturbing than the negativity of a nihilist or the myopia of a syndicalist."

"Civilization" does not wage wars, the rulers and capitalists within it do.

In regards to your comments of Keith Sorel's writing, we'll leave them to the author himself.

Our Own Free Selves

Dear STRIKE!

Lazarus Jones thinks that pornographers are doing well by women when they include only one rape and one S&M scene per 12 films. He thinks we ought to shut up and be content with this. He also sees nothing wrong with all the rest of pornography which depicts women as "ever-horny, ever-willing and ever-available". I do. I do because this is what a lot of men want women to be. And a lot of them use the same kind of language as Lazarus Jones in

their attempts to verbally coerce us into shaping up, and spreading our legs. In the conservative world women's sexuality is controlled by the threat of being labelled a whore. In the "progressive" world of Lazarus Jones and a lot of the Left (including Anarchists) women's sexuality is controlled by the threat of being called "afraid of sex", or "allies of the moral majority", or "ladies". The modern woman is guilt-tripped and insulted for not putting out enough ass, whereas in the conservative world women get it for putting out too much (or any at all). The "progressive" style is just as much an effort on the part of men to control women's sexuality (by making us public property) as is the conservative style (by making us private property). Either way we are sex objects used, bought, sold, and controlled by men for their ends, not ours. Neither the conservatives nor men like Lazarus Jones want women controlling our own sexuality, making our own decisions about it, enjoying it when we want to, and turning it down when we want to. A lot of men want their women to be housewives. A lot of other men want one-nighter whores. Very few want women in self-control. Those who frequent porno shops like Lazarus Jones do no more for my liberation than Jerry Falwell. I do not want to be a lady OR a whore. Many women are attempting to reject the two choices and be their own free selves. And so women protest and try to stop both sides, because both sides are equally our enemies. Both sides, use, control and degrade us. Both sides make objects out of us. Both sides define us as tools for men's use and benefit. Both sides use verbal and physical abuse to keep us in their particular form of oppression. Both sides use women's fear of being branded as part of the other to keep us where we are. Many women remain oppressed housewives because they fear the abuse and degradation of the streets — the strip joints and whorehouses loom large in their man-made nightmares. And many women stay in the sex-market for fear their only other choice is the apron, the kitchen, and four or five crying babies. Lazarus Jones told us how old fashioned and how sexist he really is by buying into the duality and call women against pornography "ladies" and "allies of Jerry Falwell". Both deny women's rights. Both deny our personhood. And both deny women's sexuality by making it for the benefit, enjoyment, and control of men. Both sides must be stopped. While I am not especially thrilled with legal efforts to stop pornography (because judges think in the same dualities as Lazarus Jones) I wholeheartedly back protest and direct action against it. Lazarus needn't

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"[I do not] look upon literature or the drama as...the Communists do, as a means of propaganda. But I do insist that every creative expression must have its being in the social and political fabric of the time." — Emma Goldman

Ron Hayley

The reason the Marxist-Leninists hate and fear art is because they have a very instrumentalist view of it — art that isn't harnessed to the work of furthering their objectives (the creation of a red fascist society) is, at best, a diversion and, at worst, downright dangerous. The second reason they fear it is because their patriarchal, puritanical ideology has, as one of its central tenets, the subordination of desire to will, and intuition to intellect. But the very essence of art is that it gives expression to precisely the intuitive and libidinal components of the psyche.

At heart, most artists (those that don't sell their souls to advertising agencies or media conglomerates) are rather anarchistic. They balk at toeing a Party line, they chafe at putting their art in the service of the State, they tell the truth as they see it without first asking permission, and they attempt to impart new truth and beauty to their respective societies. None of these things endear them to the Marxist-Leninists. Anarchists, on the other hand, have often been highly appreciative of the role and effects of art. I'm not knowledgeable enough to be able to present a historical sketch of their views. What I'd like to do instead is to offer my own theoretical views on art.

It's hard for us to grasp what art is and what it does when, in our own era, art has been deluged and defanged. It has been relegated to the margin, or transformed into corporate



window-dressing (visual muzak, in the case of painting and sculpture). It has been divested of its ability to *change the world*.

What is Art?

The function of art in society is to foster character structure, to foster one or another mode of relating to the world. Art expresses in symbolic form the experience of the individual and allows it to be objectified. Subjective content is transformed into objective form. By the same token, objects in the individual's environment (including *other* individuals) are reinterpreted in terms meaningful to the individual. Objective form is transformed into

subjective content. By objectifying his or her emotions or desires, the individual is asserting his or her individuality. Particularly, if his or her mode of being is rare or unusual (for example, the rage and rebellion experienced by a punk in the midst of — say — suburbia), expressing that mode of being in art is one way of validating it and solidarizing with others who feel the same way.

Likewise, human character traits (human subjectivity) is largely fostered by the objects one finds in one's environment. If one lives in an inorganic world of glass and concrete, and is made to listen to music which lacks texture and is robotic in its repetitiveness, one

becomes more machine-like. New wave dance music, with its overuse of synthesizers and its repetitive electronic drum-beats, is seeking to prepare us for the new computer age in which human beings will increasingly be reduced to robot status. Joy and grief, wonder and conscious abandon, will be obsolete emotions. We are rapidly being reprogrammed. New paradigms of thought and feeling are being implanted.

Two Kinds of Thought

Any art that aims to play a progressive role must take into account two things about the relation of form to content. First: that, in the era of "the spectacle," forms are being deliberately manipulated and used to mislead our intuitive sense, and, secondly, that all forms express value-laden contents, and these contents must be worthy of human beings.

It is impossible to understand art without comprehending the fact that there are two kinds of thought — conceptual thought and symbolic thought. When, for instance, tried to claim in his essay, *Problems of Linguistics*, that thought was different from images and symbols — in sculpture, painting and music. But this is thought of a different order. In expressing a concept or in offering a factual description, one chooses words which convey precisely the meaning one wishes to convey. In writing a poem, however, the meaning emerges not from any specific word (which, taken on its own, might be entirely meaningless) but from the effect the *ensemble* of words has, in juxtaposition to one another (in the form of an image or symbol).

Our ability to create and interpret symbols is an *intuitive* as opposed to intellectual ability. It consists in the ability to translate form into content and content into form. But when the organic relationship between form and content has been severed (by advertising, the mass media, and political hucksters), it remains to art to expose these false relationships — to strip away the hypocrisy and reveal, in stark terms, the contradiction between appearance and essence. Thus, the vacuity, greed, woman abuse, and insect lurking behind the happy, cosy "normality" of suburbia must be exposed and brought to the light of day. Likewise, the bluster of machismo must be revealed for what it actually is — the pathetic false front of an insecure, dissipated ego.

Art & Politics

Exposing false images is only the negative task of art. Far more important is its positive task — that of promoting a mode of relatedness that undermines capitalist society. By objectifying healthy emotions and character traits, art gives us new standards of being against which to measure ourselves. For example, a work of art (a song, poem, painting, or style of fashion) might implicitly promote spontaneity, sensuality, humility, trust, openness. As such, it would cut against the emotions of greed, ambition, uprightness, intolerance, self-righteousness, and fear promoted by the dominant culture.

Thus, art is not a substitute for politics; it complements it. It operates in a different sphere, on a different level. As the system of capitalism rests on a certain ideology, it also rests on certain character traits. The function of art is not primarily to change ideology, but to change character structure and the implicit values that character traits express. Consequently, there is no such thing as "anarchist art" — there is only art which promotes emotions consonant with anarchist rebellion.

A Door Forced Open

By Brian Amesley

The recent bi-annual convention of the Canadian Labour Congress was destined to be different. Years of economic crisis, massive unemployment, contract concessions and weakening trade union power dictated this fact. Consequently, the meeting could not be allowed to turn into another exercise in futility. Shallow bureaucratic rhetoric and programs of action relegated to collecting dust had to give way in favour of a tangible commitment to action.

Accordingly, at the outset of the convention, the CLC's executive was in for a surprise. When it presented its program statement entitled "United Towards A Working Recovery" the delegates had the audacity to firmly reject the document and forced it to be revised to their liking. It was not the statement's tedious social democratic content they were opposed to, rather, the delegates had made up their minds not to content themselves with merely ratifying a repeat version of longstanding CLC policy.

The delegates' central concern in wanting to force the CLC executive to turn words into deeds were the unemployment crisis and the desirability of implementing existing CLC policy in favour of a 35 hour work week as a solution to it. The delegates clearly felt that enough was enough. For six years, the CLC had had this policy. For six years the executive had failed to mobilize the congress to achieve it. Now the CLC is firmly committed to a concerted national campaign for the 35 hour work week.

This turn of events stands as a clear victory for the Left in the trade union movement. It capitalizes the widely-held sentiment that a simple re-affirmation of the CLC's relatively unsuccessful "No Concessions" stance is wholly inadequate. A clear understanding is implicit in this. Specifically, the trade union movement desperately needs to achieve an historic breakthrough.

It is critical to appreciate why. Principally it is because of the marked decline in the social power of the trade union movement. The economic crisis has depleted the movement's ranks of hundreds of thousands of dues paying members. Contract concessions have shown the unions' inability to effectively protect workers against the bosses' attacks. Years of wage controls have stifled public sector unions and pacified their memberships in the process.

CLC's Internal Crisis

This is the situation afflicting the movement

as a whole. It is particularly desperate for the CLC, the expression of public sector unions, has been especially tough on the congress because these unions have achieved dominance within it. In addition, the economic crisis has compounded the impact of breakaway unions and the growth of independent unions in cutting into its ranks. Consequently, the CLC's share of the unionized workforce in Canada has shrunk from 76.2% to 56.5% in the past six years. This phenomenon raises the spectre of the CLC being reduced to a minority union central in the foreseeable future. Should this occur the prestige and power of the congress would suffer dramatically.

Politically the CLC is in deepening trouble as well. Its "Perfect Union" with the New Democratic Party (NDP) could easily spell a major political setback. This is due to the sharp decline in popular support for the NDP. If the NDP's current slide towards political oblivion is not reversed the CLC's "political arm" will become an anachronism. The CLC's affiliated unions would then be compelled to put much more emphasis on the kind of extra-parliamentary political action recently seen in British Columbia.

Seen in this context, the movement towards actively pursuing a reduced work week is as much a reaction to the crisis affecting the CLC as it is to the unemployment crisis. In other words, the congress really needs something to galvanize itself. It must act to stop its own decline.

This was the clear message during CLC President Dennis McDermott's speech at the start of the convention. The only time he generated great enthusiasm was when he made reference to the West German metalworkers' mass strike for a 35 hour work week. There was a struggle which genuinely inspired the delegates. They clearly saw in it the type of non-parliamentary action which could breathe new life into the CLC.

Test Case

As a result the contract negotiations in the auto industry take on heightened significance. A reduction in work time is one of the two central United Auto Workers' (UAW) contract demands for this year. The UAW's success or lack of it and the degree to which it will negotiate with real, active CLC support will put the congress' policy turn to the test.

If for a real change, the UAW successfully struggles for cuts in worktime with meaningful CLC backing, the renewed tendency to stress the extra-parliamentary political action will be enhanced. Should such a breakthrough occur,

together with a major setback for the NDP in the coming federal election, it could be emphasized in an unprecedented manner.

If events indeed unfold in this direction, it will be increasingly important not to have any illusions about the trade union movement. For no matter how self-serving a course of confrontation becomes the trade unions can still be counted upon to sabotage struggles as soon as they start to endanger the system. Their fundamental subordination to the rule of capital is a fact which cannot be changed.

The trade unions are by nature mediators in the economic system. They are bound by an intricate complex of labour legislation. As such the trade unions are considered necessary and legitimate participants in society. True enough, the unions do serve as an expression of social discontent. But they also channel the same discontent and ultimately serve as guarantors of social stability.

Skepticism will therefore remain absolutely necessary regardless of the degree to which the CLC adopts a more militant, activist posture. Nonetheless, to the extent that it does militant workers must actively strengthen the struggles which will be waged. We must, in other words, build these protests but without illusions.

To do so will mean recognizing the limited trade union scope of these struggles and exposing it at every opportunity. Then it will be easier to press them beyond the stifling limitations of trade unionism. Then the radical potential of the trade union struggles-to-come can begin to be realized.

Workplace struggles, in the broadest sense of the term, remain a decisive arena in the struggle for radical social transformation. The trade unions act as both a constraint upon and a medium for advancing them. Given a widely-held appreciation of this fact, militant workers can engage in them with utmost effectiveness. What is more, the crisis in the CLC will press the majority of the trade unions in a more militant direction. New opportunities are arising in Canada for the realization of a radical working class based movement. The urgent question now before us is whether we will be able to make the most of them?



A Tale of Human Ruins

By Jon Bekken

The war between Iraq and Iran has been going on for almost four years now, with casualties mounting in a war thought too insignificant for press coverage or international attention. Indeed, as long as the only victims were the workers and peasants of the respective countries — over 200,000 of whom have died thus far — the war was almost entirely ignored. It was only the wave of attacks against oil tankers and facilities in the past few months which brought the conflict back into the headlines.

The war began when Iraqi troops invaded Iran on September 20th, 1980. Originally, most observers anticipated a swift Iraqi victory, and foreign policy journals were filled with articles discussing the strategic importance of a strengthened Iraq, and the benefits the United States could derive from this. Formally in the Soviet orbit, Iraq had been making overtures towards the U.S. well before the invasion began, and U.S. policy exhibited a clear tilt towards Iraq from the start. The Soviets, meanwhile, have remained officially neutral, reluctant to re-supply Iraq, and unable to develop ties to Khomeini's murderous regime despite the near-total subservience of the Soviet sponsored Tudeh party in Iran. Iraq has been re-supplied by the Western powers, with billions of dollars of subsidies from pro-U.S. regimes, such as Saudi Arabia, in the region.

The war, of course, was not quickly resolved, although Iraq initially scored major gains. Instead, both sides dug in for a drawn out ground battle punctuated by air strikes. Iran has held the initiative in the war for some time now, and it appears to be the major factor in keeping the Khomeini regime in power. The Iranian initiative, however, has been dearly bought. Iranian troops, often untrained and unarmed, are literally used as cannon fodder. They are sent against the Iraqis in huge waves to clear mines and absorb bullets so that the regular army can advance behind the cover of thousands of corpses. These tactics, partly inspired by the great difficulty Iran has had in resupplying, has meant that Iran has borne the brunt of the casualties.

Short Lived Victory

When Iran seemed certain to win the war,



U.S. policy abruptly shifted, and the State Department began condemning Iraq for the use of chemical warfare against Iranian troops. Indeed, press reports indicate that these insidious weapons may have been supplied by England. This Iranian advantage was, however, illusory and short lived. Iraq became desperate and escalated the war in an attempt to destroy Iran's ability to sell oil and, thus, finance the war.

Since then, we have seen an escalating cycle of attacks against oil tankers and other shipping from both sides. As a result, there has been increasing pressure for neighbouring states and the United States to directly intervene. Already, the Gulf States are bearing most of the cost of Iraq's war effort, and the U.S. has provided Saudi Arabia with advanced weapons with which to intervene against Iran. The Saudis were quick to take advantage of their new capabilities by shooting down Iran-

ian war planes. Saudi officials admitted that they could not have done this without U.S. assistance. The U.S. has similarly threatened to intervene should Iran succeed in cutting off the flow of oil through the war zone. American war ships have escorted oil tankers carrying fuel destined for the U.S. fleet.

The attacks against shipping were accompanied by air strikes and shelling by both sides against villages and cities near the war zone. Thousands of civilians on both sides were killed or wounded in these attacks, which were halted by an agreement reached June 10th to halt attacks on each others cities. The agreement, although it is the first compromise to curtail the fighting since the war broke out, is unlikely to hold. Indeed, one week after the agreement was reached, Iraq was charging Iran with violating the pact. Iran was quick to deny the charge.

Only One Solution

As this article is written, Iraq is continuing

to press for a settlement of the war, although indications are that Iraq retains the capacity to fight for the foreseeable future. Iran, however, is insisting on toppling the Iraqi government and massive reparations before it will stop the war. Iran has paid a heavy price, economically and in terms of casualties, to avoid a military defeat, and Khomeini's regime seems certain to fall if he cannot produce a decisive victory. The only force unifying Iranians under Khomeini's rule today is the war and the national sentiment it has generated. This sentiment could quickly disintegrate, especially given the extraordinary casualties. This instability underlies the Iranian regime's decision to expand the war, which it has done through the mass assaults it has undertaken against well-armed and entrenched Iraqi positions.

Meanwhile, 500,000 Iranian troops are massed for an offensive, and the government is recalling thousands of others who served their terms in the Revolutionary Guards. A new offensive is in the works, being held up only by grumblings from the army, which has suffered heavy losses in both trained manpower and equipment. The army considers the ayatollah's proposal for an all-out offensive across the 700 mile front suicidal, and has thus far refused to have anything to do with it. This resistance is the only factor holding back a new offensive, and the tens of thousands of casualties that would result. Iranian casualties would be especially heavy because the army is running short on modern weapons, and has had to increasingly use its troops, and more often the Revolutionary guards, as cannon fodder. Iraq, on the other hand, is preaching Arab nationalism in an attempt to rally Iraqis behind the war. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein recently told his troops, "Your best friend is your gun."

Whether the war will be fought on to its bloody conclusion or whether a settlement will be forced on the two sides is impossible to say. What is clear is that this war is not in the interests of workers and peasants in either country. They would be better served by picking up their guns and marching on their respective capitals, leaving at the front only enough men to bury the dead. Religious sectarianism and nationalism, the dual forces propelling this war forward, can only lead to defeat and misery for those people who have to fight the war and pay its price.

Maliseet People Seek Self-Autonomy

The Survival Network Information Centre

The Maliseet Nation of Perth, New Brunswick, Canada (across the border from the State of Maine) on the Tobique River continues an on-going struggle for their fishing and hunting rights guaranteed them in a series of treaties with the governments of England and Canada. The Maliseet Nation Fishermen's Committee seeks assistance in publicizing these actions and in rebuilding their Nation through a long-range self-sufficiency project.

Victims of the encroachment of the European peoples, the Maliseet have suffered through the Scalp Bounties of the 16 and 1700s; the ravaging diseases of the white man; and the tyrannical legislation designed to eliminate them as an independent Nation. With devotion to their natural ways and the bounty of salmon and other foods provided by Mother Earth, the Maliseet have managed to survive the genocidal ways of the conquering race. Now, beset by corruption in their tribal government, which is the most insidious method of the governments of Canada and the United States to eliminate the Native peoples, they were informed by the Federal Fisheries Department that they could no longer fish their territorial waters.

The method, of which many are familiar, historically breaks down the traditional communal government of a people. In the case of the Maliseet, the traditional chief directly responsive to and responsible to the people — not a figure head, but a participating member of the community. Anyone who is familiar with the set-up of tribal government systems under the laws of the United States or Canada can tell you that these governments are designed to cause the systematic dismantling of tradition being replaced by leaders (?) — Indian to be sure — but corrupted by the

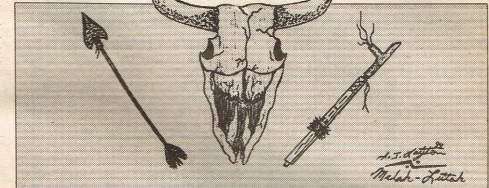
greed of those in command. This makes it, in turn, extremely difficult for any outside persons to support what is seen as a "tribal" problem ... a civil disturbance between opposing factions within the tribe itself. Although on the surface, this is the case, underneath is a mass of corruption, leading inevitably to the conquering government.

In September of 1982, the Maliseet held a "fish-in" to protest and focus attention on their situation. As is typical of the face-saving tactics of the government, there was no government interference and thus very little press coverage. The government prefers the use of terrorist tactics such as the seizing of fishing nets, the harassment and beating of individuals, the threatening and attacking of school children, the stealing of salmon from private freezers.

The court battles continue. The government offers no alternatives to the Maliseet for the loss of their food supply. The 700 tribal members and their Chief have had to go beyond the hand out of food and government assistance. They have come up with a detailed and self-sufficient plan for renewal of the independent Maliseet Nation. The plan includes a salmon farm, construction of buildings and a school, erection of a solar greenhouse, planting and expansion schedules, a comprehensive six-year plan of activities and much more.

Their history is typical of the aboriginal peoples throughout the world. Their conclusion is not. The Maliseet people do not want, need or solicit government aid ... they are going directly to the people, to individuals. In return for our assistance they give us an independent community, an independent income-raising base, an example of the ingenuity of the communal group, and a hope for the future.

The Survival Network Information Center has published a 74-page booklet of articles, press releases, statements and newspaper clippings on the Maliseet Nation. Included is their plan for self-sufficiency including a listing of



items needed as well as the budgetary report of the band for 1983 and 1984 expenditures. The booklet containing volumes 1 and 2 is available for \$6.00 plus 10% postage (U.S. Currency) from S.N.I.C., P.O. Box 52282, New Orleans.

LA 70152
For continuing information or to offer assistance, contact Juanita Perley, The Maliseet Nation Fishermen's Committee, R.R. 3, Box 50, Perth, New Brunswick, E0J 1V0 Canada.

SMOT Victim

By Brian Amesly

A report has reached the West via Amnesty International that the Ukrainian coalminer and independent trade union activist, Alexei Nikitin died earlier this year while in confinement in a psychiatric hospital in the Ukraine. The reported cause of death was stomach cancer. Nikitin had been placed in the institution in retaliation for his trade union activities.

Alexei Nikitin was a founder of SMOT (The Free Inter-Professional Trade Union Association). It represented the second attempt in recent Soviet history to found an independent trade union movement. The first attempt occurred less than a year earlier and was ruthlessly suppressed. The SMOT was founded in 1978. It too has faced swift, harsh repression. Many of its activists have either been imprisoned or, like Nikitin, forcibly confined to mental institutions for having the audacity to stand up for workers' rights in the original "workers' state."

A small campaign has been waged in defense

of persecuted independent Soviet trade union activists by the British National Union of Miners activist John Cunningham. He publishes an irregular news bulletin about the subject and had until recently organized a petition campaign in support of Nikitin and another persecuted trade union activist, Vladimir Klebanov. John Cunningham is urging persons sympathetic to the cause which Nikitin stood up for to send their condolences to his sister at the following address:

Lyudmila Poludnyak
340026 USSR
g. Donetsk
ul. Denisenko 1, Kv 11.
Anyone wishing to receive the campaign bulletin or desiring to participate in related activity is encouraged to write:
John Cunningham
10 Burns Rd.
Sheffield S6 3GJ
England

Rolling Thunder

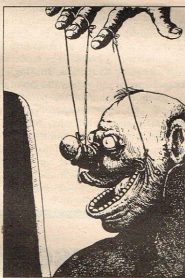
(London) — The grey rains are drizzling down my unwashed windows, my brown dog Mick lies brooding within my worn armchair, and the world situation is, as all governments will say, normal. It is considered normal by the British middle class as it is a situation that they love within these green and pleasant tiny islands of fifty million people. Normal is a right wing government, the Establishment 'left' drifting round and round like unto a lost ship, the European parliament elections that involve neither principles nor souped up rage, a wonderful political sexual scandal whose centre is an unfortunate mini minor Tory Member of Parliament arrested and charged by the Vice Squad with holding hands with, to coin a phrase, a Pretty Policeman of Soho's Vice Squad in a sad dim Little Gay Theatre at the tail end of Soho's Berwick Street market, a completely non-effectual teachers' strike for more pay, and a bitter and violent coal miners' strike now into its fourth month.

There is a historical bitterness to the industrial disputes of Britain's coal miners. American strikes may be, nay are, more violent, and French and Italian more theatrical with a continental middle class waving their Communist Party membership cards as they help to overturn and set fire to the street cars and other people's automobiles. For the Welsh coal miners land locked in the grey misted hills, their historic memories of the long coal strike of 1926 and their betrayal by the London based elder statesmen of Britain's Trade Union Council will not let them forget.

In this economic and social war against a right wing entrenched Tory Establishment, the Welsh strikers have ancient allies in the tough Yorkshire and Scottish coal miners. They will

not forget and forgive. One man on the picket line is already dead. The police vans are full most days of struggling, striking picketers whose anger is vented against their fellow coal miners blacklegging behind an army of police. Against Ian MacGregor, Ma Thatcher's imported hit man from the States hired to run or ruin Britain's coal industry, the rage of protest and picket can only be vocal or poster and leaflet. However, for the striking miners who know that their mines are to be closed down and their valleys and homes destined to become deserted ghost towns simply to appease a tax slashing British middle class the rage against those with whom they once worked at pit head and coal face is of a bitterness that will long continue after this strike has ended.

When death and darkness is the daily working lot of all miners all over the world, Britain's striking coal miners can only look with hate against that small minority of local fellow workers who are daily shipped in by the police to break their will and their battle for social and economic survival. The grey rains still fall.



Nasty Contradictions

Arthur Scargill, the Marxist leader of Britain's militant National Union of Miners (NUM) is good at making a name for himself. Unfortunately for his membership he hasn't chosen his political allies so well.

This year's massive wildcat coal strike provides a case in point. Since it began, Scargill has taken on the status of an internationally well known personality by virtue of his leadership role and his high profile appearance during violent picket line clashes with British riot police. It's too bad that prior to this he hadn't taken up the cause of coalminers in Poland as well. He could use their support.

On May 7, the government of "Socialist Poland" demonstrated its concern for the welfare of his striking members by announcing a drive to increase the sale of Polish coal to Britain. Margaret Thatcher must have been amused. Her state-owned British Coal Board was undoubtedly pleased. It obliged Warsaw by doubling the importation of Polish coal. This was several weeks into the NUM strike. Isolated from the bulk of Britain's unions

and struggling, Scargill and NUM's membership hardly needed Poland's embrace of Thatcher's attempt to break the strike. But then Poland's coalminers hardly needed the likes of Scargill when the iron fist of martial law came down on them and their union in December 1981. At that time Scargill refused to come to the defence of Solidarnosc. Instead he revealed his pro-Soviet leanings by proclaiming that "Solidarnosc has become more than a trade union."

Perhaps if Arthur Scargill had sided with Poland's miners at the time he could now appeal to them through the offices of the union of their choice. Then, just maybe, something could be done in the Polish coalfields to counter-act Warsaw's support of Thatcherism. But nothing of the kind has happened or is likely to, Scargill, it seems, has trapped himself in a self-proclaimed Socialist straitjacket, which occur when a self-proclaimed Socialist sides with neo-Stalinism against the workers.

Printers Reject Porn

Printers in Vancouver, B.C. have refused to print a catalogue for a pornographic video distributor.

The job for Red Hot Video stores was brought to Cancom Media Consultants. Red Hot Video was the target of firebombing by the Winman's Fire Brigade (Squamish Five), and was found guilty by the courts of distributing violent pornography.

When a camera operator at Cancom informed local women's groups that her bosses were intending to do work on the catalogue, concerned women and the daily press began calling the company. After one day of phone calls every five minutes, the Cancom management decided not to do the catalogue and cancelled all contracts with Red Hot.

Cancom has done two similar catalogues over the past two years. On both occasions, women who had to work on the catalogue objected, but were told to do the work or lose their jobs to someone who would.

This time, two women expressed their concern as soon as they were informed that they would be doing the Red Hot Video work by attempting to discuss their objections with management. The bosses response was that if Cancom didn't print it someone else would, although they expressed fear of reprisals from the women's movement and increased insurance rates due to the threat of firebombing.

The first concession by management was an offer to print the catalogue anonymously, and to refuse all further work for Red Hot.

One of the camera operators felt that the compromise was not good enough, and called women's centres throughout the Lower Mainland. Calls began first thing the next morning (the day work was scheduled to begin), and didn't let up until the afternoon, when Cancom finally capitulated and cancelled the deal with Red Hot.

Toledo Strike Continues

Members of the United Auto Workers continue their strike against the AP Parts Company — which manufactures automobile parts. The company forced workers out on strike when it resisted the UAW's attempts to negotiate a 'modest' concessionary package, instead unilaterally implementing massive pay

cuts. The plant is now operating with foremen and scabs, and UAW members in other plants appear to be using the AP parts without protest.

4,000 workers — many of them UAW members at other plants — surrounded the AP Parts factory in Toledo, Ohio, May 21st, battling with police who fought to shut down the picket lines so that scabs could leave the plant. They were ultimately unsuccessful, and the scabs stayed in the factory overnight in order to avoid having to confront the outraged workers. This display of solidarity and struggle evidently frightened UAW leaders, who cancelled a demonstration in support of AP strikes scheduled for June 24th, which had been expected to draw tens of thousands of workers. Rank and file activists say the demonstration was cancelled because the UAW was afraid it could not maintain control of the crowds that were sure to turn out, and wanted to avoid a repeat of the events of May 21st.

Thousands of dollars have been collected for the AP Parts strike fund from unionists in Toledo, much of it gathered by the Toledo Area Solidarity Committee, a rank-and-file strike support committee formed by Toledo area unionists after the Greyhound strike. \$2800 in cash, and 4 pickup trucks full of food were gathered in one day alone from workers at the Fermi nuclear power plant.

Police continue to harass pickets at the AP Parts company, attempting to ensure that no obstacles are placed to scabbing and union-busting. More than 50 strikers and other workers have been arrested, and at least 7 strikers have been injured by police attacks. Efforts to negotiate a settlement in the strike have collapsed at press time.

Brazil Farm Workers Win Victory

Farm workers in Guariba, Brazil, won stunning victories recently, including pay hikes of up to 300%. The strike, carried out by migrant workers, began with workers using huge logs to block the path of trucks carrying workers to nearby cane fields. As confrontations continued, a battle between strikers and police left one worker dead and 50 wounded.

But the strike, the first ever in one of Brazil's richest farming regions, continued. On May 17, strikers began setting fire to cane fields, and plantation and mill owners quickly capitulated. News of the victory spread quickly among cane cutters and orange pickers in the area, and within two weeks almost all had won similar deals, often after no more than brief one-day strikes.

In the midst of Brazil's worst economic crisis in decades, this was the first organized protest against wealthy farmers. Before the strike wages of farm workers had fallen far behind inflation; and the most energetic of cane cutters earned the equivalent of just \$80 a month for 10-hour days and six-day weeks. The situation has been aggravated by Brazil's economic policies, which have forced small farmers off the land so that huge tracts can be turned over to cash crop production. These cash crops are then exported to pay the interest on Brazil's huge foreign debt, leading to increased poverty and malnutrition for workers.

Despite government repression, the labour movement in Brazil has been increasingly active and militant in recent years.

Voices
From Underground
Poland

The following is an open letter to Arthur Scargill, the President of the striking National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in Britain. It is in response to the current NUM strike and the sharp increase in Polish coal exports throughout this struggle. The letter is also prompted by the fact that when the Jaruzelski regime in Poland imposed martial law in an attempt to crush Solidarnosc, Mr. Scargill refused to come to its defense.

The authors are left-wing activists in the underground union movement. The text of the open letter is to appear in the Warsaw-based underground bulletin *Robotnik* which has a circulation of approximately 6000-7000 copies. It is being made available in North America by the Polish Workers' Solidarity Committee in St. Catharines, Ontario, and the Newspaper *STRIKE!*. Distribution in Britain is being carried out by the journal on Eastern Europe *Volya*.

Dear Mr. Scargill,

For months we and thousands of our union colleagues have attentively observed your struggle for the right to work.

We know well that at the present time your fight takes on more universal significance. It is a matter of fact affecting the subsistence of the British trade union movement. We have already condemned and we maintain this condemnation with all firmness the coal exports to Great Britain by the Jaruzelski regime.

If Thatcher is getting along so well with Jaruzelski it is a great time to make logical conclusions. That is why we hope that in the name of workers' solidarity you will reverse your unfriendly position towards our movement.

We want to express through you our solidarity and support for the striking miners and all British workers.

Executive Board of Robotnik
(Paper of the Inter-Factory Workers' Committee of Solidarnosc)
Robotnik Political Group
Group Emmanuel Goldstein

Peter Kropotkin The Anarchist Prince

By Paul Avrich

Peter Kropotkin, Bakunin's outstanding disciple, was, like his mentor, a scion of the landed nobility who served as an army officer before renouncing his heritage for a life spent largely in prison and exile. Born of a princely family in 1842, he too fled from Russia in dramatic circumstances, escaping in 1876, the year of Bakunin's death, from a prison hospital in St. Petersburg to Western Europe, where he remained until the Revolution of 1917 enabled him to return to his homeland. During the intervening decades, he replaced Bakunin as the foremost leader and theorist of the international anarchist movement. Addressing meetings, founding periodicals, writing books and articles in several languages, he did more than any other figure to further the libertarian cause in Europe and around the world.

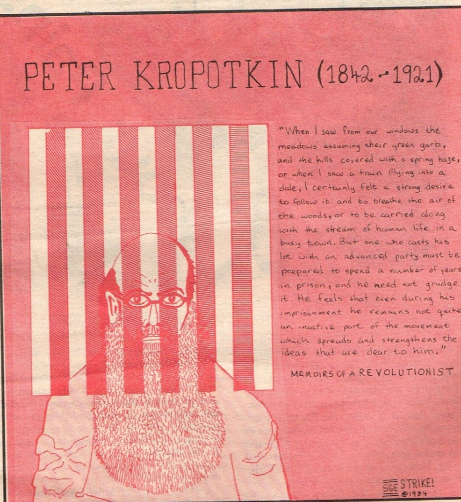
Although Kropotkin embraced the principal tenets of the Bakuninist creed, from the moment he took up the torch of anarchism it burned with a gentler flame. With his courtly manner and high qualities of character and intellect, Kropotkin was the very picture of reasonableness. His scientific training as a geographer and geologist, combined with his optimistic outlook, gave to anarchist theory a constructive aspect which stood in contrast with the spirit of negation that permeated Bakunin's works.

For all his saintly qualities, however, Kropotkin did not reject the use of violence. He upheld the assassination of tyrants if the perpetrators were impelled by noble motives. Acts of terror, he believed, were among the few means of resistance available to the enslaved masses; they were useful as "propaganda by the deed," calculated to supplement oral and written propaganda in awakening the rebellious instincts of the people. Nor did Kropotkin shrink from revolution itself. Like Bakunin, he anticipated a social upheaval that would demolish capitalism and the state for all time. And for the future libertarian society he accepted Bakunin's vision of a free federation of autonomous producers' associations organized from below.

The Principle of Needs

Kropotkin, however, differed with Bakunin on one important point. Under Bakunin's "collectivist anarchism" each member of the local workers' cooperative was obliged to perform manual work, for which he would be rewarded in proportion to his "direct contribution of labor." Kropotkin, by contrast, regarded any system of rewards based on the individual's capacity to produce as just another form of "wage slavery." By drawing a distinction between superior and inferior labor, and between what is mine and what is yours, a collectivist economy such as Bakunin advocated rendered itself incompatible with the ideals of pure anarchism as Kropotkin conceived them. Collectivism, moreover, necessitated some authority within the community to measure individual performance and supervise the distribution of goods and services accordingly. For Kropotkin, therefore, the collectivist order, even in its libertarian form, contained the seeds of inequality and domination.

Kropotkin considered his own theory of "communist anarchism," set forth in *The Quest of Bread and other works*, the antithesis of the wage system in all its guises. No center of authority would compel any individual to work. Furthermore, for the principle of wages was substituted the principle of needs. Each person would be the judge of his own requirements, taking from the common storehouse whatever he deemed necessary, no matter how much labor he contributed. Kropotkin's benign optimism led him to assume that, once political and economic exploitation had been eliminated, all men would work of their own free will, without any compulsion whatever, and take no more than they needed for a comfortable existence. Members of the community would work from their twenties to their forties, four or five hours a day, and then retire for a comfortable life. The division of labor would yield to a variety of pleasant jobs. For happiness, Kropotkin believed, required a diversity of occupations, on the land and in the workshops, which would be located in a single "integrated" community.



"Echoing Bakunin and Kropotkin, a new generation of idealists are calling for a totally reconstructed society in which compulsion will give place to cooperation and the bureaucratic state, whether capitalist or communist, will be shorn of its arbitrary power."

What this implied was a system of regional self-sufficiency, of which Kropotkin was an articulate advocate. In *Fields, Factories and Workshops* he argued that the use of electric power, distributed among small units of production, would permit a reduction in the size of industrial enterprises, so that the manufacture of goods could be shifted to the countryside without the sacrifice of up-to-date technology. At the same time, Kropotkin believed, methods of intensive cultivation would increase the production of food to the point where even the most populous countries might feed their inhabitants without relying on imports from abroad. In short, as Lewis Mumford has noted, Kropotkin foresaw in advance of later proponents of the "garden city" that the use of electricity, together with techniques of market gardening, might lay the foundation for a decentralized society combining the advantages of urban and rural life while allowing full scope for the development of the individual personality.

A Vision of the New World

As an eminent geographer and naturalist, Kropotkin believed no less than Marx that theories rested on a scientific basis. In *Mutual Aid* he argued that, despite the Darwinian concept of the survival of the fittest, cooperation rather than conflict is the chief factor in the evolution of the species. Providing abundant examples, he showed that sociability is a dominant feature at every level of the animal world. Among humans too he found that mutual aid has been the rule rather than the exception. He traced the evolution of voluntary cooperation from the primitive tribe, peasant village, and medieval commune to a variety of modern associations — trade unions, learned societies, the Red Cross — that have continued to practice mutual support despite the rise of the coercive bureaucratic state. The trend of modern history, he believed, was pointing back towards decentralized, nonpolitical cooperative societies in which men could develop their creative faculties without interference from rulers, priests, or soldiers.

To prepare for this happier life, Kropotkin placed his hopes on the education of the young. To achieve an integrated society he called for an "integral education" that would cultivate both mental and manual skills. Due

emphasis was to be placed on the humanities and on the basic principles of mathematics and science, but instead of being taught from books alone, children were to receive an active outdoor education and learn by doing and observing at first hand, a recommendation that has been widely endorsed by modern educational theorists. Kropotkin, drawing on his own experience of prison life, also advocated a thorough modification of the penal system. Prisons, he said, were "schools of crime" that, far from reforming the offender, subjected him to brutalizing punishments and hardened him in his criminal ways. In the future anarchist world, founded on mutual aid, antisocial behavior would be dealt with not by laws and prisons but by human understanding and the moral pressure of the community.

Kropotkin combined the qualities of a scientist with those of a revolutionary organizer and propagandist. He was the principal founder of both the English and Russian anarchist movements and exerted a strong influence on the movements in France, Belgium, Switzerland, and the United States. At bottom, however, he was a moralist, whose techniques of scientific investigation served to buttress his ethical teachings. That he came closer than anyone else to placing anarchism on a scientific footing is beyond dispute. But one may doubt whether any social philosophy, anarchism not excepted, can be genuinely scientific. What dominates Kropotkin's writings, rather, is a great ethical vision, a vision of a new order based on mutual support in which no individual is master of other human beings. Near the end of his life he was convinced that Bolshevism, because it lacked a guiding moral idea, would be powerless to create a new social system on the principles of justice and equality. And it is characteristic that his last work, which he did not live to complete (he died in 1921), was an ambitious history of ethical doctrines.

From Morality to Social Practice

Kropotkin was a humanist from first to last, a man of deep compassion, filled with love for mankind and bent on relieving the misery of the oppressed. His own life exemplified the high ethical standard that he preached throughout his writings. He displayed none of the egotism, duplicity, or lust for power that marred the image of so many other revolutionaries. Because of this he was admired not only by his own comrades but by many for whom the label of anarchist meant little more than the dagger and the bomb.

Today, when criticism of bureaucratic government is once again widespread, the ideas of Kropotkin and Bakunin seem as timely as ever. To many young radicals the "military-industrial complex" and the "warfare state" have fulfilled the most despairing predictions of the two great anarchist leaders, whose formulas of self-determination and direct action have been exercising a growing appeal. Of particular relevance, after the lessons of Russia, Spain, and China, has been their warning that social emancipation must be attained by libertarian rather than authoritarian methods, that socialism without liberty, as Bakunin put it, is the worst form of tyranny. Furthermore, with their vision of a decentralized society based on voluntary cooperation and mutual aid, their goals of workers' self-management and equal education for all, they have provided an alternative not only to the capitalist system but to the bankrupt authoritarian socialism which has triumphed in so many areas of the world. Echoing Bakunin and Kropotkin, a new generation of idealists are calling for a totally reconstructed society in which compulsion will give place to cooperation and the bureaucratic state, whether capitalist or communist, will be shorn of its arbitrary power.

Test-Case Against Anarchist

By the STRIKE! Collective

On September 27, 1983, peace activists in Toronto staged a demonstration protesting the British Prime Minister M. Thatcher's visit to Canada. Ken Deyarmond, an anarchist who has been active within the Toronto peace movement, was distributing leaflets among the demonstrators. Upon the arrival of the Prime Minister, Ken was pushed from behind towards the direction of Thatcher, and he was immediately arrested by 3 policemen. Later, the following police-fabricated charges were laid upon Ken:

- 1) Threaten Assault against an "Internationally Protected Person"
- 2) Three counts of Assault police
- 3) Possession of Marijuana

The following day Deyarmond was released on \$1000 bail and was given the bail condition of reporting to the police twice a week. Despite the fact that Ken does not smoke pot and did not have any in his possession during the demonstration, he was convicted on this charge in January of this year.

On January 25, 1984, a Preliminary Hearing was held in respect to the three assault charges

and the "threaten assault" charge. The so called "evidence" presented by the police at Ken's hearing are nothing but fabrication and lies. The judge, however, chose to proceed with the trial.

Regarding the "threaten assault" charge, it is important to note that this charge was introduced as a special clause in the Criminal Code of Canada in 1973, providing special protection for foreign dignitaries. This charge has never been invoked in Canada, and Ken Deyarmond is now being used as victim of a test-case. Ken's trial date on these charges has been set for Tuesday, November 13, 1984.

For the past three years, Ken Deyarmond has been active in various environmental issues, anti-racist, and anti-imperialist politics. He is also involved in the Toronto support group for the Vancouver Five. Recently, Ken also helped to mobilize opposition against the creation of a Canadian civilian spy agency.

In the name of international solidarity, we urge our militants in North America and elsewhere in the world to openly express their condemnation and outrage against this type of

See Trial Pg. 11



Caroline Welles

The pornography issue has recently inspired much public debate. This debate has included both feminist and non-feminist analysis. The controversy centres around the issue of violence. It has been argued that the consumption of pornographic images by men leads to an increase in the violence those men direct towards women. It has also been argued that such a causal relationship does not exist. Studies have been undertaken to "scientifically" prove whether pornography and violence are causally linked, with varying and often contradictory results. In any case, most of the debate concentrates on the effects pornography may have on men. It may be instructive to redirect the focus of the debate to a consideration of the effects that pornographic images have on women. However, this would be too narrow an enquiry. To limit the discussion to a consideration of pornographic images only is to assume that pornography can be isolated or divorced from the entirety of images present in our society. The non-pornographic may allude to the pornographic, and vice versa. For instance, a successful advertisement may be successful only because the representations within it are suggestive of an existing pornographic tradition. It would thus provide a deeper insight into the pornography issue to examine the sort of images of women that are prevalent in our society, and what those images mean to women themselves.

Images of women surround us in our society. A woman encounters images of herself in art galleries, in movie theatres, in popular magazines, on billboards, and on television. She is surrounded by images of women, varying certainly in slickness and sexual explicitness, but nearly always the images present women as object. The "objectification" of women has become almost a cliché, but if examined closely, such a representation of women carries with it a whole range of implications.

The Surveyor & The Surveyed

What exactly does it mean to be "objectified", to be presented to the world as an object? Every human being is at once a subject and an object. A person is an object by virtue of existing physically, as well as a subject by virtue of possessing a conscious ego. As much as we are forever objects, we are also necessarily thinking subjects. We cannot help but think, we cannot help but make sense. The woman who sees herself objectified experiences the relentless denial by her society of her own subjectivity. She is surrounded by images, from the day she is born, which maintain that she is not an active subject who may take part

in the creation of her world, but that she is an object, and must, therefore, passively accept her world as given.

This abstract objectification is only part of women's reality. In our society, women are not only objectified in imagery, but they are also concretely denied the expression of their subjectivity. Thus, women are generally shut out of politics, out of paying jobs, and out of the construction of social reality. Reality and history are not processes which a mere object can define; it takes a subject to "make" history. The situation of women in our society is one where they are denied full expression of their subjectivity. The abstract representation of women in our society's imagery is a denial of women's subjectivity. The abstract and concrete objectification serve to reinforce one another; it is a non-issue as to which causes which. Together they define women as objects.

Women are not, however, mere objects. Like all human beings, women are subjects. Short of death, no amount of repression can totally destroy the subjectivity of a human individual. Repression does, however, alter women's subjectivity. As a woman is subjected to a barrage of images insisting that her value is contained within being a subject, the truth of which is borne out in her experience in the world, that woman's subjectivity is experienced as a duality. A woman learns not only to live her own subjectivity, but she learns to continually visualize herself as an object from a man's point of view. John Berger, in *Ways of Seeing*, expresses this very succinctly.

To be born a woman has been to be born, within an allotted and confined space, into the keeping of man. The social presence of women has developed as a result of their ingenuity in living under such tutelage within such a limited space. But this has been at the cost of a woman's self being split into two. A woman must continually watch herself. She is almost continually accompanied by her own image of herself. Whilst she is walking across a room or whilst she is weeping at the death of her father, she can scarcely avoid envisaging herself walking or weeping. From earliest childhood she has been taught and persuaded to survey herself continually.

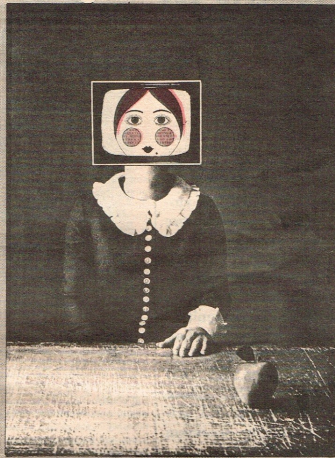
And so she comes to consider the surveyor and the surveyed within her as the two constituent yet always distinct elements of her identity as a woman.

Woman As A Sight

What does this split in the subjectivity of women mean for them? Women become foremost concerned not with what they do, but with how they look. A woman is therefore never completely absorbed by her actions the way a man is; she must continually keep track of how she looks. In the process of actively objectifying herself, a woman loses the ability of self-absorbed thought and action. This mutilates her subjectivity. A woman whose self is split in two rarely experiences her self in the completeness of its subjectivity. However, purposeful action demands the discipline found only in a whole subjectivity. A woman's self is so mutilated by society's demand that she objectify herself that concrete self-directed action becomes very difficult for her. Thus, women are induced to do to themselves what society itself could not do to women, that is, women effectively make themselves into objects. As Berger puts it:

One might simplify this by saying: men act and women appear. Men look at

Images of Women



Anarchist Viewpoint is a regular feature of STRIKE! which seeks to present material from the international Anarchist and Libertarian Communist movement. Such material may be of a topical or theoretical nature. Our aim is to expose our readers to the debates and controversies shaping modern Anarchism.

Caroline Welles is a member of the STRIKE! production collective.

women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines, not only most relations between men and women but also the relations of women to themselves. The surveyor of woman in herself is male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object — and most particularly an object of vision, a sight.

An object does not make history; a subject does. Women, who are born into our society are treated as if they were only objects by men. The images society presents to women about themselves teaches women not only to accept their objectification, but to take part in it themselves. The objectifying images of women that women experience daily can thus be seen as contributing to the paralysis women face in trying to achieve self-liberation.

Images of Liberation

If images which objectify women are seen as part and parcel of a system which denies the freedom of women, then what sort of images would aid women's struggle toward liberation? To answer this question, it is necessary to define exactly what is meant by an "objectifying" image.

An image of a woman is objectifying when it presents that woman as incomplete unto her

self, as having no will of her own, and as gaining completeness only through the will of a male viewer. Such an image can be manifested in many different forms — a classical painting, a movie, a magazine, or a billboard, among others. The important thing about such objectifying images is that everything revolves around the male viewer. In sexually explicit material, the image is designed to cater to his sexuality while having nothing to do with her sexual will or needs. Simone de Beauvoir, in *The Second Sex*, could have been talking about such objectifying imagery when she writes, "Thus humanity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being...she is simply what man decrees; thus she is called 'the sex', by which is meant that she appears essentially to the male as a sexual being. For him she is sex — absolute sex; no less. She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with her; she is incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute — she is the Other."

An image of a woman is not objectifying

See Women Pg. 8

The Sacred And The Profane

By Lev Chernyi

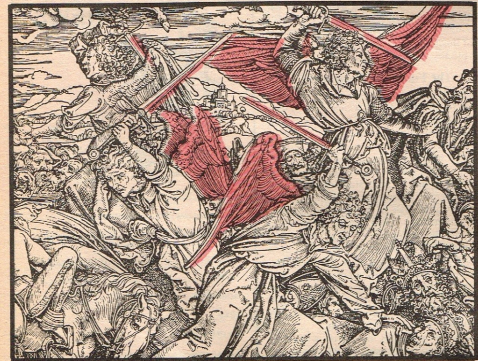
I was pleased to see Fred Woodworth's excellent article in the latest issue of STRIKE!, since the relationship between atheism (the critique of religion) and anarchy is too often neglected in these days of new-ageism and the proliferation of spiritualist ideologies amidst "alternative" and marginal communities. Unfortunately Jay Kinney's essay on the same subject was not nearly as illuminating and instead included several misleading and positively wrongheaded assumptions which cannot go unchallenged.

First, I must say that I have a great respect for much of the work Jay has done,

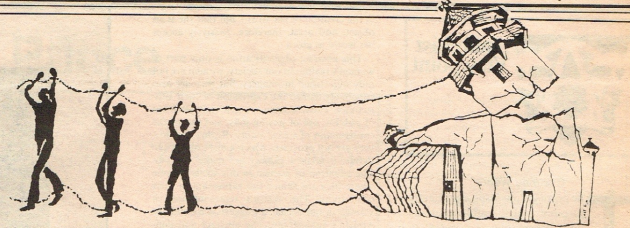
and I have no desire to downgrade it. However, his views on religion appear to share a typically "new-ageist" (Fred calls it "liberal") perspective in which ideas (and especially ideological ideas) are seen to be equally valid and compatible regardless of their meanings, logical implications, and manifest contradictions.

Jay begins his essay with an argument that "the libertarian impulse down through time has encompassed both the iconic and the iconoclast, both spiritual enthusiasts and hardcore atheists," and that the "rejection of religion and spirituality as being invariably authoritarian, oppressive, misguided nonsense, is an inappropriate response for anarchists." He goes on to claim that the question

See Religion Pg. 10



Instead of Prisons



"Predicted result (of 25 year sentences) was increased violence, stress or such severe apathy that prisoners would not be fit to be released once their terms were finished...interferes with their ability to readjust to the community... Wm. Palmer, Prison Psychologist (Warkworth Institution) admitted he had no idea what to do with the 202 (since updated to 285) Federal prisoners now serving minimum 25 year terms..."

Ottawa Citizen, Aug. 30/83

By Claire Culhane

A prison system whose rate of occupancy has already increased by approximately 10% over the same period last year (by March 1983 the national total was 11,224) now forecasts an accommodation shortfall of 700 cells by the end of 1983-84. Meanwhile, the Solicitor-General is rushing legislation through Parliament to eliminate remission (good time) for designated 'violent' prisoners, thereby adding to the number, rather than decreasing it. 'Gating' by any other name is still arbitrarily grabbing a released prisoner at the gate and putting them back in with absolutely no available appeal procedure.

In plain words, that means we continue to build more prisons with more high technology

security trappings, to keep more people in prison for longer periods of time. What safeguards can possibly exist for any community into which such embittered people are released? Obviously this very shortsighted planning. Or, is it shortsighted, we must ask.

The Root Causes

Is it any more warped than the drastic cut-back in employment creating vast pools of jobless, from which employers can now draw upon for cheap labor. This, in turn, significantly weakens the trade union movement. A similar pattern exists in social service cutbacks resulting in more problems for our young and our elderly, our sick and our handicapped, our homeless and our jobless, all of which is calculated to proportionately increase the potential robberies and the perceived need for more prison construction. When those with the most wealth (individuals and corporations) pay no taxes while the people's basic needs are neglected and we are told to wait until the economy bounces back, it is apparent that the status quo creates the problems in the first place, and is not going to be the one who will solve them.

By the same token, the prison system recently described by a Crown Prosecutor as being "out of control" (Jack McKenna, Whig Standard, Kingston, Ont. Jan. 31/84) is also a product of the same policy, and not some strange economic setback.

For example, the concept of penal colonies is being insidiously advanced as a possible solution to the overcrowding of long term offenders, and the subsequent mental dangers. Even the acronym LACC (Limited Access Correctional Communities) has been submitted. Once again, a plan is being initiated by the same experts who three years ago authorized the construction of civilian internment camps (Order-in-Council 1981-1395). There is no lack of knowledge of the state of affairs in Canadian prisons nor is there any need for further Commissions and studies of the 'problem'.

With all the resources at their disposal the

Criminal Justice System fails to take advantage of scientific findings to unriddle specific disorders. Instead of still another proposed experimentation with sex offenders — this time in laboratories to measure their genitals as they react to child pornography (probably more to pander to the obscenity of the investigators than the investigated), they could learn from Ken McBride's article, *The Chemistry of Violence* (Queens Quarterly, Spring 1984). He made a study of "...hair analysis...intended to test violent males to determine whether their nutrient levels suggest selective retention or mal-absorption of certain elements...Psychiatry and counselling have proven largely ineffective in readjusting violent personalities and integrating them back into society. An understanding of the chemistry of violent behavior might make it more treatable — even predictable..."

He goes on to describe the "dietary improvements (which) do appear to have ameliorating effects on anti-social personalities...assaults were reduced by 82% following drastic reduction in the use of highly refined white sugar...children who had previously committed violent acts were found to be the most likely to improve their behavior after natural sugars were introduced. The foods we consume and the way our bodies process them clearly have an important influence on our behavior...for those trapped in destructive personalities over whose design (we) had little control, a new body chemistry could represent a fresh start, a second chance."

From A Different Perspective

This is not to assume that every prisoner will be cured by the above studies. However, it is to say that there are many positive alternatives that have yet to be explored, rather than resort to the speculative ventures geared to control rather than to cure the prisoner-patient.

A question most frequently asked is why would anyone want to pour their energies into helping lawbreakers who allegedly showed no

nothing to gain by participation in the electoral charade, voter turn-out will continue to fall. The question is how this refusal can be transformed into active resistance, and into a social movement which will fundamentally alter the whole of society.

Women

Continued from Pg. 7

when it presents that woman as a complete willful subject, independent of the will of the viewer. Such an image would be a celebration of that particular woman's subjectivity, uniting her intellect, emotions and sexuality into one coherent whole. She would be loved for her uniqueness, not voyeuristically consumed for her emptiness. Unfortunately, the vast majority of images in our society portray women in an objectifying manner.

The Futility of Censorship

What is to be done? Some people narrowly define the problem as one which involves only "pornographic" material. These same people fail to understand that images need not be "pornographic" to be objectifying. "Pornographic" images are objectifying, but all objectifying images are not necessarily "pornographic". Their narrow understanding of the issue allows them to uncritically consume objectifying billboards, fashion magazines and television commercials, while they single-mindedly advocate the censorship of "skin" magazines and the like. Political strategies such as these are both futile and dangerous. They are dangerous because the censorship weapon they choose to employ has consequences of a perhaps more grievous nature than the ills they seek to combat. They are futile because they insufficiently identify the problem.

Objectifying images, no matter what their form, need to be exposed for what they are: damaging to women's subjectivity. Then and only then will women be able to shed their

concern for their victims and who now seek help to obtain their rights.

The answer is simple. In rallying the forces against the capitalist system which is clearly responsible for the many areas of destruction in our lives — war, poverty, sickness, hunger, racism, sexism, and so on — the political attack must include the struggle to abolish the prison system, one of its most indispensable components. It is not only a matter of helping some individual prisoner survive the horrors of incarceration — although I see nothing wrong in broadening the horizons of our humanitarianism, as we go along. Who has the right to draw a line between the principle of fighting for a better world for all, and reacting to individual miseries around us.

A delegate from a Montreal Anti-Poverty group to a Royal Commission to Study Poverty, once asked why they were spending so much time and money studying poverty when everyone knew why they were poor — they were poor because they had no money. The delegate suggested that the Commission study instead why people were rich, and where they obtained all their money. That would lead to a better understanding of why so many others were so poor.

It is time we made the links between the various levels of power in our society. The Quaker Committee on Jails & Justice provides us with a meaningful definition: "Prisons allow the socially powerful to control the socially powerless...ignore the root causes of conflict and fail to provide a creative response to it."

Until we accept the reality that prisons are the way we deal with our poor, our minority groups and our unemployed, we will not begin to respond realistically to the questionable value of prisons in our present society.

When we accept this truism and join with other like-minded groups and individuals we will have some hope of salvaging our prison population, along with the world's population.

paralyzing misconceptions about themselves and as whole subjects embark on their journey of self-liberation. Women who learn to experience their subjectivity in all its completeness reclaim their ability to engage in self-absorbed thought and action. In escaping the crippling societal definition of women-as-object, woman-as-subject can join other self-conscious exploited groups in the fight for self-determination.

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Poland

Continued from Pg. 1

estimated that voter turnout was at most 60%. This means that nearly 10 million people defied the regime by not voting in elections which, according to official claims, have drawn 99% turnouts in the past. Underground activists are generally satisfied with this result.

This is not to say that there have not been victories by the government. It scored a notable one on June 8 with the arrest of Bogdan Lis in Gdansk. Since the union's Temporary Co-ordinating Commission (TKK) was formed in the spring of 1982 Lis had functioned as its representative for the Gdansk region. The gravity of his arrest lies in the fact that he is one of the most highly knowledgeable and skilled activists in the movement. His arrest makes possible attempts by the secret police to break him and obtain invaluable information about the underground.

Overall, however, the continuing strength of the underground shows that the internal situation remains essentially a stalemate with no visible end in sight. An appreciation of this fact is deeply embedded in the outlook of the underground's activists. They also are acutely aware of the consequences of bordering the USSR no matter how strong Solidarnosc remains. Despite these circumstances their commitment to what they are doing is impressive.

This is evident in the attitudes of the political prisoners released under the amnesty. Immediately upon their release and seemingly oblivious to the dangers involved these activists restored their contacts with the underground. Their determination to resist remains intact.

A similar commitment to active struggle was also evident in the demonstrations marking the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising. These were largely spontaneous manifestations and they attracted thousands. Their

occurrence points to the still ever present possibility of widespread mass actions. These can and will occur if people think the results are tangible enough to justify the risks involved.

It is impossible to predict precisely what will happen in the foreseeable future. However, it isn't unrealistic to expect the underground to hold its own and even make its presence more conspicuously felt. If this assessment is correct next July will occasion yet another mass release of political prisoners.

For now the need for active solidarity with the underground's struggle is as important as ever. A campaign in defense of Bogdan Lis is a good example of what can be done. In more general terms it is simply important to popularize Solidarnosc's continuing strength while not abandoning criticism of its nationalism and links to the Catholic Church. There is also a particular need to do anything possible to directly aid the more radical currents within the movement.

A real onus exists on revolutionaries in the West to do these kinds of things. Through them it is for us possible to demonstrate who the real allies of the Polish working class are. Achieving this aim will make our respective struggles for a better world more intimately linked and stronger as a result.

Election

Continued from Pg. 1

the electoral system will continue. Indeed, such attempts are sure to intensify. These efforts are doomed to failure, because capitalism is no longer willing or able to provide the pay-offs it has used for so long to keep the working class, and particularly selected strata, in line. Under present conditions, the bosses face a choice of intensifying their exploitation of workers or seeing their profit rates decline. There can be no doubt about which they will choose. No politician can alter this reality. When it becomes painfully clear that there is

Our Generation

By George Woodcock

Our Generation Against Nuclear War, edited by Dimitrios Roussopoulos, Black Rose Books.

Our Generation is one of the most durable of the libertarian magazines. It started out in the fall of 1961 as **Our Generation Against Nuclear War**, an expression of youth and particularly of university student opposition to the suicidal courses of contemporary military policies, and it continued through the radical sixties and early seventies into the more conservative atmosphere of the late seventies and the present decade, where it poses a challenge to a new generation, a challenge coming from survivors of past struggles who have grown up in the middle-aged in the fight but, in their various ways, have kept the faith.

Over the years **Our Generation** has changed, as every journal that is to survive must do. It has realized that the various aspects of politics are inseparable, that war is related to property systems and also to personal power drives, and that one cannot oppose war or seek to end it without a radical criticism of the kinds of societies that must continue bellicose preparations in order to survive.

In the division that took place in the radical generation of the sixties between those who opted for authoritarian Marxism and those who chose the libertarian — the anarchist — alternative, it has moved clearly in the anarchist direction. **Our Generation** is not indeed specifically an anarchist magazine, and keeps open to many points of view that Bakunin would hardly have recognized, so long as they are within the general spectrum of anti-militarist radicalism. But the doctrinaire Marxists honour it with their absence, and its general attitude



inclines towards the decentralist social arrangements and the tactics of civil disobedience favoured by all but the most violence-oriented of anarchists.

The role **Our Generation** now plays, of an uncommitted forum of the anti-authoritarian left, is a useful one, and the present anthology of writings which Dimitrios Roussopoulos has selected from its past issues, bearing the magazine's original title, **Our Generation Against Nuclear War**, is a timely one at a period when it has again become urgently necessary for the peoples of the world to struggle against the policies by which their governments, no matter on what side of the Iron Curtain, are dragging them ever nearer to the brink of war. John Foster Dulles walks again, and that old ghost must be laid.

By now, I suggest, we have sorted out the theoretical and philosophical bases for an anti-war stand, and we know well enough the political background to the present situation. From this point of view, much that is contained in the anthology is archival rather than actual. The academics, whether converted or not, are likely to know the sociological and political arguments on the state of the world today that are here presented in scholarly fashion, and what we really need for the general unconverted public is a much simpler and more popular

presentation of the basic moral and political issues. What the converted need, I suggest, is a more ample discussion of the tactics of resistance to war and preparations for war.

The actions and the fate of the five Vancouver activists recently so savagely treated in a British Columbia court makes such a discussion seem all the more necessary. I do not propose to address so complex a case at the end of a book review, but it does seem to me that it gives urgency to the examination of effective ways of non-violent civil disobedience in the cause of preserving humanity.

What we really need is something like Bart de Ligt's **The Conquest of Violence**, that excellent 1930s manual on non-violent tactics, adapted for the nuclear age.

The book is a hefty collection devoted to the issues of war and peace and of possible solutions, and to the general questions of political structures that are related to both issues and solutions. In almost five hundred pages it contains more than fifty articles and messages, some of them by well-known intellectuals and activists of the peace movement, like Aldous Huxley, Noam Chomsky, Bertrand Russell, A.J. Muste and Erich Fromm, and others by less celebrated people who have marched and attended conferences and in various ways committed

themselves to a serious consideration of the problems that in our age matters of war and peace involve.

If the collection has a fault, it is a tendency in many of the articles to an academic ponderousness that reflects the graduate-school origins of **Our Generation**. Often one has the uneasy feeling that an essay is an enterprise directed towards a *curriculum vitae*, and even when this does not seem to be the case, some of the young professors who contribute have already become so trapped in the forms and jargons of academic journals that they seem to be presenting little treatises for the benefit of their colleagues in sociology or political science rather than the kind of accessible pieces, written in Orwellian "prose like a window pane", that should figure in a magazine and an eventual anthology whose main utility should surely be not to academia but to the peace movement as a broad whole.

There is, indeed, the sense of minds free from academic chains when one reads, for instance, Aldous Huxley speculating in his idea-spinning way on the relations between human warfare and animal territoriality, or when one reads the extraordinarily moving "Statement of the Woman's Pentagon Action", with Meriel Fish's accompanying account of her imprisonment in connection with this action.

A great deal is said about peace research, and some of this is obviously serious enquiry and useful to anyone concerned with the tactics of struggle, but a great deal is just as clearly academic make-work, and I found the most helpful and enlightening pieces either the straight journalistic exposés like Farley Mowat's "Canada Joins the Club", or the rather practical discussions by committed militants of ways of taking action, like April Carter's "Non-violent Direct Action" and Adam Roberts's "Non-violent defence."

Our Generation Against Nuclear War is indeed historically valuable as a record of what an interesting magazine was published and as a reminder of the various directions that nuclear-war-resisters have taken in the last twenty years. But as a tract for the present, it is too heterogeneous, the reader unaware of the complexities of the movement who picks it up will tend to be bewildered rather than inspired.

Unfinished Business

By Chris Ecks

Only last May of '83, ex-inmates of Veteran Administration psychiatric wards and their supporters staged the first demo in the country against psychiatric attacks by the VA. It took place in Syracuse, N.Y. Demonstrators chose the Syracuse site because a V.A. National Headquarters circular sent out on Feb. 7, 1983, designated the hospital as one of four in the country allowed to practice "any neurological procedure designed for the alteration of behaviour", or as the heading states, "Surgery for abnormal behavior (psycho-surgery)". The memo singles out "aggressive" epileptics as well as others. The V.A. regulations nationally allow any veteran to be designated mentally incompetent without a hearing, and the V.A. will appoint a legal guardian to exhaust the personal "estate" of the veteran down to \$500 before the V.A. begins to bear the expense of care and "treatment".

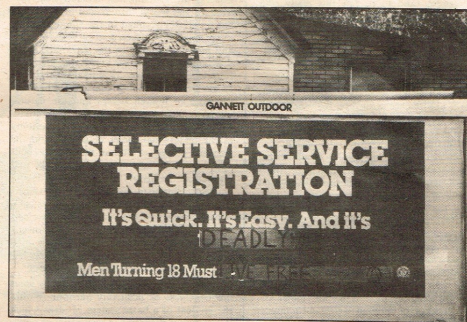
Inside the military machine, people are locked up and drugged in psychiatric wards for dissent. While the excuse for incarceration in civilian wards is that the person threatened to "hurt himself and others", the military it is clearly the opposite—that the person *refused* to hurt himself or others! The number of vets currently diagnosed as "psychotic or other psychiatric disorders" by the V.A. has jumped from 3,908 discharged in calendar year '67 to 77,791 for fiscal year '82 discharges. At the end of the Vietnam period, most V.A. centres were ill-equipped to deal with the chronic problems of Vietnam veterans, including alcohol and drug abuse, stress, flashbacks, divorce and

emotional trauma. Most centers were telling veterans that their problems simply started before the war, or simply started afterwards and were not service-related. No treatment. Or if vets persisted, they were sent to long-term lock-up wards to be experimented on. Chillicothe V.A. hospital in Ohio was doing brain surgery on them in the '70s.

Drugs and other techniques to control "patients" in civilian hospitals are tested first on veterans in the V.A. system today. At any given point, some 8,500 veterans are being experimented on in the V.A. system each month. The V.A. is guided by federal regulations, which are less protective of civil rights in the military system. For example, vets have no choice but to return to the same V.A. hospital regardless of problems with "treatment" there. Though both are daily abusing, and even killing people with their methods, the V.A. and military psych-centers get less attention and oversight than civilian centers. The phenothiazine drugs used most commonly with GI's and veterans (mellaril, stellazine, thorazine, prolixin) have long-term brain-damaging effects, can lead to "sudden death" and create irreversible disease— tardive dyskinesia—that causes muscles in the face and hands to spasm uncontrollably. Electro-convulsive treatment (ECT)—shock treatment—can cause another form of permanent brain-damage, bringing long-term or permanent memory loss, lack of concentration and other problems.

Social Amnesia

Many of these techniques were begun at the



end of WWII. A film about them made for the Army by John Huston "Let There Be Light", was suppressed by the Pentagon for 30 years. These techniques were used first to punish and discredit GI resisters—members of the "Back Home Movement", gay people in the military, and anyone who made trouble. Their use was continued and expanded upon by the V.A. But not until the Vietnam period did the military or the V.A. use them on so many people. Fol-

lowing the return of thousands of vets with recurring problems, war by people like Wilson, Figley and Lifton took a reality known to vets as "Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome" and turned it into a psychiatric disease known as "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder".

While it helped explain some veterans' actions and crimes, the term led the V.A. to

See Veterans Pg. 11

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Religion

Continued from Pg. 7

of religion is "properly a matter of individual conscience," a "private matter," and that the presence of large numbers of overtly religious people in the present peace movement(s) is an encouraging...sign." And, finally, that "the spiritual impulse is universal." All of these statements appear highly dubious, if not completely unsupportable to me.

The major problem with Jay's arguments is that nowhere does he ever define what it is that he means by "religion" and the "spiritual" so that we don't even have any criteria by which to judge whether religion and spirituality are really compatible (or incompatible) with anarchy according to his own point of view. All we have are his bald assertions that they are compatible, and the vaguest of suggestions (and to be fair this really isn't clear) that from his perspective, religion and spirituality might be defined as methods that satisfy "the very real human need for a healthy relationship with the whole of life, for a sense of wholeness."

If we take this vague suggestion of a definition seriously it quickly becomes obvious that it approaches absurdity. No atheist that I have ever known would be likely to suggest that the reason s/he rejects all religion is that s/he desires an unhealthy relationship with the whole of life, or no relation at all, or that s/he rejects any desire for wholeness. And I would venture to say that this is not what religion means for the vast majority of people in the world that I inhabit, whether they are atheists or religious. Of course, if we were to accept this as an adequate definition of religion we would have little problem showing that it is compatible with most anarchist theories, and that "the spiritual impulse is universal." But this would be a hollow victory for religion since it would render the very concept of religion nearly meaningless for any practical purposes. In fact, what Jay seems to imply here to be "religion" and "spirituality" would be much more appropriately called "philosophy."

The Sacred and the Profane

If we want to make any real sense of the relation of religion and the anarchist movement, we would do better to adopt a more realistic definition of religion. And if the conceptual confusion surrounding the debate over religion is clarified, some logical conclusions

Enzane Azad (The Free Man) is a Persian bi-monthly anarchist magazine which was founded in October 1980. The publication is intended to introduce the Iranians living abroad to the basic principles of anarchism. Anarchism as a social theory is nearly totally unknown in Iran and to the Iranians living in foreign countries. This is caused by several reasons: lack of anarchist literature, lack of libertarian elements in the history of the Iranian resistance movement and because of this a tendency towards authoritarian theories and ideologies such as Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism... ideologies which most Iranian intellectuals adhere to. The main historical reason for this is the ever lasting despotism in all areas of life: education, religion, family, leaving no space for even the most fundamental human rights.

Taking this into consideration our magazine wants to give the Persian-speaking reader a basic insight into anarchism. Enzane Azad (The Free Man) presents

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sions can be drawn. I propose using a very common definition of religion according to which it consists of any doctrine which postulates the existence of a god or of supernatural beings. If we can accept this as an adequate definition then it becomes clear that the essential nature of religion consists in its division of the world into two spheres — the supernatural and the natural, or in other words, the divine or sacred and the profane. Far from being a holistic conception, religion can then be seen as in actuality dualistic, metaphysically dividing a world in two that might otherwise be considered an indivisible whole. This, I believe, is the concept of religion that atheists usually criticize, and that is essentially incompatible with anarchism.

As Fred Woodworth said, "the religious believer is first and foremost... tied to the concept of Ultimate Authority." Throughout history, the fundamental metaphysical division of the world into sacred and profane has invariably resulted in the subjugation of the profane to the sacred — of woman, man, and nature to gods(s) or the supernatural. In this sense religion is the archetypal ideology. It elevates a concept, an unreal abstraction, to the status of being more real than the existence of human beings and the natural world. It attributes a counterfactual subjectivity to that abstraction by denying the autonomy of the impersonal forces of nature, and the personal powers of human beings. The consequent results are all too sickeningly well known, as the history of Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, etc., all attest. In essence, religion is a form of human alienation, and nothing more. To the extent that anarchists seek to end the alienation of human powers, they must become atheists in the sense defined above.

Between Essence and Appearance

This is not to say that all religious ideas are worthless or positively harmful. Within the context of a basic system of ideas which is essentially alienating, a vast array of possible variations exist. Some are obviously worse than others. Some more obvious in their degradation of nature and humanity, some less so. Some include important and valuable ideas and perceptions. However, the point is that even the most benign religion conceivable must require the acceptance of a fundamental ideological separation of the world into two opposing realms. And this separation is extremely dangerous because once it is accepted as *real*, the door is opened

Libertarian Translation Project: This project seeks to aid in the spread of libertarian communist and anarchist ideas into countries where they are virtually unknown. Persons who can translate English texts into Polish, Arabic, Turkish and Farsi are especially needed. Anyone interested or wishing to help is urged to contact: Keith Sorel c/o Anti-Authoritarian Studies, ASUC, 300 Eshelurann Hall, U.C. at Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 94720, USA.

Anarchist historian seeks material for the creation of an anarchist archive. Persons with any old anarchist journals, papers, books, etc. are requested to donate or inquire about the project. Please write: Jerry Kaplan, The AA Project, 174 Lisbon Ave., Buffalo, N.Y. 14214, USA.



The Secret Agent is the first comprehensive look at dioxin, the contaminant of the herbicide 2,4,5-T, a main ingredient of the defoliant code-named Agent Orange during the Vietnam war. In all, more than 11 million gallons of Agent Orange were sprayed over the crops, the jungles and the villages of South Vietnam.

And while this film focuses on the tragic legacy of the American spray program, the scope of the dioxin problem — and of the film itself — is much larger. Rentals: \$100.00. **Green Mountain Post Films**, P.O. Box 229, Turners Falls, MA 01376, USA, (413) 863-4754.

Magazine Liberte is a new French language publication concerned with Anarchism and Culture. The first issue contains articles on Anarchism and Modernism, poetry by Ly Ferre and interviews with Alan Gesdon, Serge Livrot and Milo Manara. The magazine is a quarterly. Single issue, 20 FF, subscriptions 100 FF for 8 issues. 145 rue Amelot, 75011 Paris, France.

Peace in the East: Dossier on the unofficial disarmament movement in Eastern Europe. Available for \$2.00 from the East European Solidarity Campaign, Box 835 Sub. 11, L.I. of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

CIA Ties to Academia Exposed in a new 47 pages report on relations between the University of California and the Central Intelligence Agency. Single copies \$1.00, add 50¢ for postage. Write: Student Co-operative Union, UCSD B-023B, San Diego, Calif. 92093, USA.

Bicicleta: Spanish anarchist magazine — back issues available. Nos. 8-30, \$1.50 each. Available issues include No. 11 (Anarquismo en el Mundo), a special issue featuring contributions from and about the anarchist movement throughout the world; No. 8 (Dossier Prensa Libertaria, extensive section on the anarchist press as well as articles on direct action and other subjects); No. 9 (articles on autonomism, co-operatives and contributions on violence and armed struggle. Send \$1.50 for each issue desired. S.A.S.E., to IWW-Chicago Branch, 3435 Sheffield #202, Chicago, IL 60657, USA.

The Autonomy Centre is Chicago's Anarchist Centre celebrating its first anniversary. We schedule at least two events per month. One of our projects is **Impossible Books** which now includes more than 100 titles. List available on request. Postage appreciated. Please send our new address: **Impossible Books/Autonomy Centre**, 3951 N. Ashland, Chicago, IL 60613, USA.

religion was thoroughly exposed by the German Young Hegelians, that today it can only be confusing and self-defeating in the long-run to couch libertarian theory in religious language of any kind.

Ideas and Reality

Anarchists must relentlessly expose the fundamentally alienating nature of religions while showing that all their most worthwhile features can be preserved (and liberating) when their alienating core is eliminated. Far from seeing religion as a "private matter of conscience," anarchists should realize that no ideas exist in a vacuum. If beliefs are held at all, it is because they inform human action. No one holds religious beliefs without those beliefs in some way shaping that person's life activity. To pretend otherwise is pure folly. The religious beliefs of members of the so-called "Peace" movements will invariably have a mystifying effect on those movements, retarding any libertarian tendencies that they might harbour. That these movements exist is encouraging. That they are influenced with ideological mystification can only be disheartening.

I realize that there is much more that demands to be said regarding this complex subject. But I hope that what I have had to say and time to say can help people put things into a more productive perspective. We can all talk about religion, atheism, and anarchy until we are blue in the face, but unless we define what we mean by these terms we will never be able to agree on anything, or even understand why it is we disagree. I really don't think I disagree with most of what I think Jay wanted to say so much as with the conceptually mystifying terms he uses to say it. I think that we can all agree that we seek a "healthy relationship with the whole of life," and that alienation must be transcended. However, I think the project is better termed anarchistic and atheistic, rather than religious. As long as ideological thought dominates people's conceptions of what they must do, people will remain crippled and self-defeated. To paraphrase Jay in a way that reverses his own intent, once one leaves the "small circles of urban intellectuals" and "subcultural clusters" who think that religion can be reconciled with the anarchist impulse, one discovers that to the mainstream of society, religion and anarchy are essentially incompatible. It's not all just a question of semantics.

Veterans

Continued from Pg. 9

begin large-scale diagnosis and "treatment" with phenothiazines. As the Disabled American Veterans proclaimed that there was indeed a "psychopharmacological cure for stress syndrome" which could be administered by psychiatrists "sensitized" to the needs of the "P-TSD" veterans, money for community-based veteran self-help alternatives, rap-groups, up-grade centers for discharges, educational and employment assistance was cut off.

Today, many vets insisting on alternative forms of treatment for their distressing problems are locked up in the psychiatric wards instead. No vet should submit to psychiatric treatment in the VA, or elsewhere until they have gotten good info on the dangers involved and on their civil rights while incarcerated. Support groups exist across the country and legal assistance is available.

In order to "disappear" Vietnam and create an "amnesia" for the American people, the government has had to forget the veterans. A society that cannot face the terrible destruction that it did to the Vietnamese and refuses to pay any reparations to that country cannot afford to admit what it owes to the veterans. The vets' enforced silence and isolation, their chronic unemployment, and family problems have been the real cause of their "dis-ease". More veterans have committed suicide since the end of the war than died as servants and victims of the imperialist war. The "official" V.A. figures suggest at least 60,000 suicides, compared to 57,500 casualties during the Vietnam war years. In reality, the number of post-war suicides is probably much higher.

The Ruler's Game

This country's rulers have been trying to bury the dissent of the living veterans, angry and frustrated at returning to a society where they had almost no one to turn to about what they had experienced in Vietnam. The government, the straight media, the military, has had to bury the dissent of the living which can uncover the stench of the dead, the true odor

of this nation's foreign policy. Beneath lies of mental incompetence and moral degradation on the part of the GI's who "failed"; of traitorous national disunity before the "enemy"; of foreign deceit and power-mongering, they try to bury the truth of our murderous intervention against an oppressed and rebelling population; of the national hypocrisy of the "democratic" mission; of the courageous and frightened insubordination of soldiers and sailors to combat orders in an unjust war.

Sadly, the minimal reaction following the invasion of Grenada; the apathetic complacency of most Americans in the face of irrefutable evidence of covert and overt aggression in Central America seems to indicate that they have fairly well buried the truth under their monument of lies.

Yet we must continue to let people see. The rulers are busy preparing for world-scale war. Draft registration and military budget increases are the beginning. Cemetery space for up to one million gravesites is being sought in the USA, while in West Germany US troops are being drilled in the making of mass graves. 50,000 hospital beds are being prepared for military command soon. Chaplains are being recruited at a rate not seen since WWII. Medics coming into the military now are all trained as MOS 91C—combat-ready. The 513th Military Intelligence Group, the one that runs "internment camps", has just been re-activated. Black GI's are being dumped out of key infantry units in large numbers, since the system correctly sees them as "unreliable" in Third World interventions.

If we can give people a look at the unfinished business of the Vietnam war—the unreconciled human destruction done to veterans here and Vietnamese abroad; the destruction of a generation here to wage a genocidal war there—perhaps more and more of us will decide that the discomfort of following our conscience is far easier—and wiser—than the disaster of following the authorities. We cannot allow ourselves to be confused by the patriotic sweet-talk dished out to the Vietnam vets by Reagan, Congress and the straight, square veterans organizations. We do need to find it in ourselves to comfort the victims of the last great tragedy as well as to confront the victimizers! Let the dissent be heard and let's act on it.

Many thanks to John Judge, who's original "Unfinished Business"—written in May of '83—I re-arranged, slightly up-dated and somewhat poetic-licensed without permission.

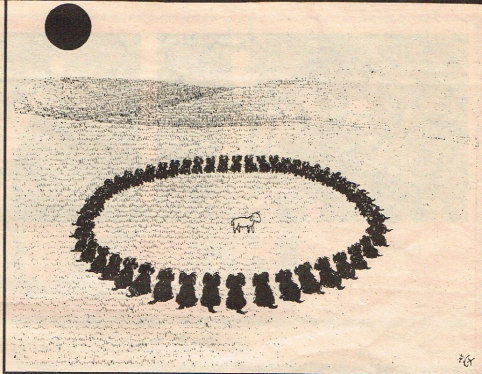
J. Judge has been a military counselor and organizer since the 60's. He can be reached at either P.O. Box 42508, Phila. PA 19101, or at SOS/National GI Assistance Project, P.O. Box 6586, T St. Station NW, Wash. DC 20009.

Vets (or anyone else) can also write to: Madness Network News, P.O. Box 684, S.F. CA 94101 (drugs, inmate rights)

Veterans Against Military Psychiatry, Box 42508, Phila. PA 19101

Short Timers' Journal, Box 9246 No. Berkeley Sta. CA 94709

Veteran's Rights Newsletter, Box 42130, Wash. DC 20015 (legal rights).



ideas & action

is a magazine that stands for movements based on direct action and direct democracy — people making decisions for themselves. That's because we think a society based on self-management — where industries are run by the people who work in them and communities are run by the people who live in them — can only be brought about by a movement that practices rank-and-file self-management of the struggle.

Some items in the current issue (#4):

- a look at the Greyhound strike
- why wars happen and what we can do to stop them
- a Jewish Anarchist statement
- Yugoslavia: model of workers self-management?
- Spanish libertarian unionism today

Subscriptions: \$6 for four issues, \$4 low income, \$12 for libraries/organizations/institutions, \$25 sustainers.

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Funds Received

The Emmanuel Goldstein Fund is pleased to report that the \$300. U.S. raised since last autumn was received by our comrades in the Emmanuel Goldstein Group in Warsaw. Particular thanks should be extended to the fund's supporters at the City University of N.Y., at Buffalo, Ideas & Action, and the Survival Network. The funds raised will be put to good use in propagating libertarian ideas in Poland.

STRIKE! soon expects to obtain a new political statement from the Emmanuel Goldstein Group. It will provide an analysis of the current situation of the Left in the underground opposition movement. Further support activity is also possible in the future. If and when it takes place full details will be available in STRIKE!.

Letters

Continued from Pg. 2

fear that I will call the cops on him — the cigarette lighter in my right hand and the bucket of paint in my left will speak for me.

What have you planned for your next issue — Strike? Perhaps an article on why blacks should appreciate Uncle Tom; Step-N-Fetchit, Happy Little Shoesline, Boy image, and quit complaining so much. It would make a great follow-up.

Linda Jencson
P.S. It occurs to me that in the tight little universe that Lazarus Jones and most men of the modern world have set up for themselves, by refusing to become a whore or a lady, I will be assumed to be one of those dreaded "man-hating lesbians". Wrong again Lazarus, but how come you use that category in a derogatory way like Mr. Falwell does?

Trial

Continued from Pg. 6

political persecution. Your letters and/or telegrams of protest and support will be most valuable for us in this fight. Any form of support (with the exception of financial contributions) must reach the following address no later than 9 November, 1984.

Ken Deyarmond Defense Committee
P.O. box 6326, Station 'A'
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

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ON STRIKE!

STRIKE! is published approximately every six weeks by the STRIKE! Publishing Association and is indexed by the Alternate Press Syndicate.

STRIKE! is an independent journal of Anarchist and Libertarian Communist news and perspectives dedicated to the principles of direct action and self-management of industry and society. Back issues are available for all issues at a cost of 75¢ each. ISSN 0712-1539.

Articles submitted to STRIKE! must be typed and double spaced. The suggested length is 3 to 4 pages although exceptions can be made. The publication and editing of articles is the prerogative of the STRIKE! collective in consultation with the Editorial Advisory Board.

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By Caroline Welles

Alfred Hitchcock has long been acknowledged as *the* master of the suspense film, with films like *Psycho*, *Notorious*, *North by Northwest*, and *The Thirty-Nine Steps* to his credit. A current wave of interest in Hitchcock has sparked not only showings of Hitchcock films in second run movie houses, but there has even been the commercial re-releases of both *Vertigo* and *Rear Window*. The renewed popular interest in Hitchcock is in itself noteworthy; however, what is most fascinating is the critical acclaim now being heaped on Hitchcock's films by some "progressive" film theorists. Hitchcock has always been a favorite among film theorists. It is well known that the left-leaning film theorists/makers from the French New Wave movement of the late 1950's (Francois Truffaut, for one) greatly admired Hitchcock's filmmaking abilities. While Hitchcock's film techniques have been generally admired by film critics, there have been some, notably feminist film theorists, who have been critical of his films. Today, the renewed popular interest in Hitchcock's films is accompanied by a reassessment of his works by various film critics.

The noted leftist film theorist Robin Wood, for example, has rethought Hitchcock in an article in the November 1983 issue of the magazine *American Film*. Wood considers the self-posed question: "Can Hitchcock be saved for feminism?" and answers with a resounding yes. Wood's main argument is that Alfred Hitchcock's films, although depicting violence directed against women, are constructed in such a way as to somehow "... disrupt beyond all possible recuperation, the male drives and fantasies that provide the films' initial impulse." An examination of Hitchcock's unique filmic methods severely brings into question Wood's "feminist" reading of the films of Alfred Hitchcock.

The Master of Manipulation

Hitchcock's films are brilliant examples of manipulation; through manipulation of the film, Hitchcock achieves the manipulation of his audience. He manipulates through the use of finely timed camera work and editing that is designed to draw the audience not only into the action, but into a particular (and frequently shifting) point of view. Thus, the audience not only watches the action unfold, but they actually become complicit in that action. Hitchcock achieves this manipulation of the audience through the skillful use of techniques known as "point of view shots" and "parallel editing".

A "point of view shot" is a shot where the camera is placed in the physical position of a particular person, which places the audience in the position of literally seeing the world from that particular person's point of view, as though through their eyes. "Parallel editing" is the splicing together of two different scenes in an alternating fashion, so that they appear to the audience to be occurring simultaneously. These two techniques are regularly employed

ALFRED HITCHCOCK

The Politics of Film

MIXED MEDIA

audience will then psychologically identify with the literal point of view of that particular character. This is a technique used by many filmmakers to engage the audience directly into the action. Hitchcock, however, takes the effect further, through the use of parallel editing. After he has established audience identification with a particular character through the point of view shot, he will immediately cut to another scene with another character, and again, using the point of view shot, establish audience identification with a second character. He then cuts back to the first character, reestablishes audience identification, cuts back to the second character, and so on. It is characteristic of Hitchcock that the two characters with whom the audience is manipulated to alternately (if not simultaneously) identify are usually "victim" and "violinist". Hitchcock thus intentionally places the audience into an ambivalent voyeuristic position — they find themselves identifying with a character who is anxiously fleeing from the character with whom the audience identified only seconds before. This tension is essential for Hitchcock to maintain, as it keeps the audience involved by making them accomplices to all aspects of the action.

Means And End

Hitchcock's aim is not simply to entice the audience into the filmic action, that is, his cinematic techniques are not an end in themselves, but a means to an end. Hitchcock uses

all his skill to pull the audience into the action of the film in order that he may give weight to an inevitable climax of violence. One cannot sensibly speak of a means as separate from its end; thus one cannot speak of Hitchcock's cinematic method of enticing the audience without speaking of his practice of consummating action in violence. Hitchcock, in manipulating the audience into identifying with the pursuers as well as the pursued is conditioning the audience's experience of the violent climax.

It cannot be denied that Hitchcock is a genius at his craft. He performs the seduction of the audience through his skillful manipulation of film. He takes a particularly violent act, one usually directed against a woman, and entices the audience into willfully accepting by turns the point of view of violator and violated. For the audience, then, the distinction between the victim and violator disappears. The audience is manipulated into blurring the experience of being violated with the pleasure of violating. Hitchcock is thus able to manufacture a fantasy that has no correlation with reality — a fantasy in which the victim takes pleasure in being violated. Can a film critic truthfully admire the work of an artist that structurally denies the very real pain experienced by people who find themselves violated by others?

Returning to Reality

The production of any film by any filmmaker can in fact be seen as an act of manipulation; aiming the camera in this direction as opposed to that direction results in the distortion of reality on the part of the filmmaker. However, the distortion of reality becomes problematic only if the filmmaker intends to present a film as reality, as is the case with most filmmakers, including Hitchcock. They desire to have an image masquerade as reality, or perhaps to supersede reality.

A Hitchcock film is produced with the explicit intent to create the desire within each member of the audience to be simultaneously victim and violator, an obviously unrealistic situation, but one in which the audience is enticed into believing. In contrast, a film like Jean Luc Godard's *Wind From the East* (1969) is structurally designed to distance the audience from the film in order that the audience is constantly aware of the fact that they are watching a film, not reality. The plot is nonexistent; rather the film consists of a series of "essays" which reflect on the nature of film itself. An actor is shown standing in front of a waterfall, and the actor states that he is an actor, standing in front of a waterfall, captured on film projected in a theatre, many times the size of life, but *not* life. Later, the film takes on a scratched up look, appears to break, and a discussion follows between Godard and his co-workers as to whether this film or any film can adequately represent the reality about which they are concerned. Certainly, Godard's film is manipulative, but it reveals itself critically, to such and thus involves the audience in a voyage of discovery. Hitchcock manipulates in order to hide the discord between film and reality; Godard "manipulates" in order to liberate people from such illusions. What type of cinema do we, the audience, deserve?

STRIKE!

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Pawns in a Bloody Game

By Jon Bekken

The patriotic hysteria and jingoism occasioned by the hijacking of a TWA airliner and the holding of several passengers as hostages is dying down at press time. Palestinians are once again recovering from a brutal assault on their refugee camps. And what passes for a ceasefire continues, as the various sectarian military gangs vying for control of this war-ravaged country content themselves with skirmishes, sniping, and occasional shelling attacks on each other's positions.

At least 500 Palestinians were killed in May and June, when Amal militia attacked the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps (sites of a similar massacre by Phalangists 3 years ago) and a third camp. Unlike the previous attack, which took place under cover of the Israeli military, the Shi'ite attackers met fierce resistance from the Palestinians armed with little more than rifles. Amal — with assistance from elements of the Lebanese army and backing from their Syrian masters — launched the attacks May 19th. Sabra fell to the attackers May 31st, but the other 2 camps held out. More than 500 Palestinian (and scores of Amal militia) were killed in the fighting and over 1,000 were wounded. Unable to take the camps, and facing sporadic fire from PLO units operating from Druze-held mountains overlooking the camps, Amal eventually withdrew. While the fighting was underway, Syria launched attacks against Palestinian camps inside Syria — reports as to casualties conflict, but at least 120 Palestinians were seized, and some reports indicate that dozens may have been killed.

Response to these attacks was mild. While Arafat loyalists sought to capitalize on this situation to rebuild their dwindling prestige (seriously damaged by the Arafat-Hussein pact), more militant elements were hamstrung by their ties to Syria (Syria not only finances and arms several PLO factions, they are also headquartered in Damascus and operate largely in Syrian or Druze-controlled areas of Lebanon). During the month that the Palestinian camps were besieged,



the attacks received little attention and were largely ignored by what passes for the left. At a forum in Chicago called to discuss the attacks, the speaker (a supporter of the PFLP) was critical of Syria's "mistaken" support for the attacks, but went on to reiterate the PFLP's line calling for an alliance with Syria, the PLO and secular Lebanese forces, to win Palestinian liberation!

As pointed out in the December, 1983 issue of STRIKE! ("Out of the Barrels of Their Gun", on page 6), however, there are no truly secular forces operating in Lebanon right now other than the Syrian Army and, to a limited extent, the group of Israeli backed mercenaries styling themselves as the South Lebanon Army. Instead, each religious sect has its own party and



militia — often more than one — run by warlords who carve out their fiefdoms and battle with each other to extend their control and influence. This explosive mix became unstable when the Shi'ites, largely frozen out of power, began to organize into Amal with substantial backing from Syria and the PLO at the same time that the fascist-leaning Phalange decided to clean out the Palestinians in the mid-1970s. Since that time the Lebanese government has been irrelevant, controlling anywhere from a few square kilometers around the Presidential Palace to 10% of the country, depending on shifting alliances and the turns of battle. And as long as Lebanon's peasants and workers allow themselves to be used as cannon fodder by their masters — and divided along religious lines — the situation will continue to deteriorate.

See Lebanon p. 11

Canadian No to SDI

The Grand Illusion

By Brian Amesley

Does not mean yes? It does if the person saying it is Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and if he is saying no to Canadian government involvement in the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or "Star Wars" program.

On September 7th the Mulroney government said that it is rejecting direct government to government involvement in SDI. To many, including some careerist peace activists, the announcement seemed like an assertion of au-

tonomy from the U.S. military-industrial complex and a step towards reversing the arms race. In reality, the decision was an opportune political smokescreen intended to conceal the fact that it was neither.

The qualifying circumstances to Mulroney's "No" clearly bear this out. So does the reaction of representatives of the Reagan administration including Bonzo himself.

First of all it is important to realize what is involved in the simultaneous announcement that private corporations and "private" institutions, like universities, are free to pursue SDI research contracts. Bids for these contracts will have to go through the Canadian Commercial Corporation (CCC) which is a federally owned crown corporation and these must receive government approval in advance. Furthermore, by way of what are termed back to back contracts the CCC in its intermediary role will do the actual soliciting of contracts to the Pentagon. This fact alone reveals that the belief that the federal government won't be involved in SDI is an illusion.

The CCC role explains what Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister Erik Nielson meant when he referred to "a decision-making process which is in place" (Toronto Globe & Mail, Sept. 10, 1985, p. 9) in response to questions concerning indirect federal involvement in SDI. Critically, at the same time, Nielson expressed what he said were the government's hopes that military research efforts in co-operation with the U.S. will continue to grow.

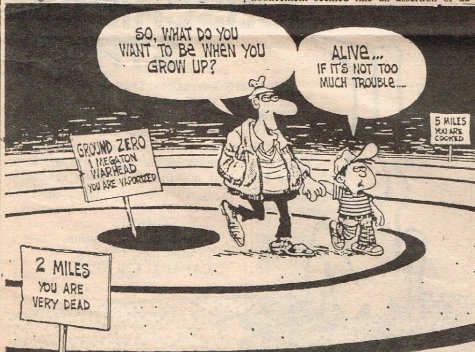
Another aspect of this prospective government

involvement in SDI is the distinct possibility of research grants and loans coming on line as an incentive to those who obtain contracts. Still another is the involvement of universities which indirectly receive federal money through transfer payments to the provincial governments.

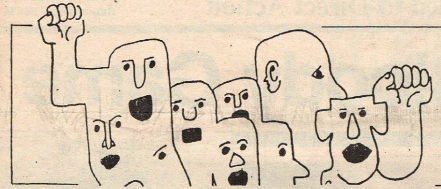
At least one university is likely to get in on the action. Two persons from Hamilton's McMaster University attended a special workshop on SDI during the recent tour by Pentagon officials to offer Canadian businesses advice on getting military contracts in the U.S. Ironically, McMaster's Dean, Alvin Lee, has signed a petition against SDI research on the university's campus.

If one places these things in the context of Mulroney's unqualified verbal approval of American SDI research and subsequent evasive government answers to incisive questions about

See SDI p. 10



FOR STARTERS



Welcome to the 38th issue of **STRIKE!** We would like to share with you our joy of finally acquiring office space for **STRIKE!** which will make the production of **STRIKE!** considerably easier. This could not have been done but for your generous financial contributions and for this, we most wholeheartedly offer you our thanks.

For those of you who haven't made it yet to page 11 of the current issue of **STRIKE!**, to anticipate we would like to inform you that from the next issue of **STRIKE!** and onwards, we will publish a *Questions & Answers* column, its purpose being an attempt to clarify and discuss issues of

anarchism and contemporary society that we all have in mind.

For a quick preview of our next issue, among other articles **STRIKE!** will be featuring the following: an experiential, first-person analysis on the meaning of workers' existence in contemporary capitalist society. Also, we will be printing a debate on the possibilities open to anarchism in today's society, touching on the issue of anarchism's self-definition.

So enjoy this issue, get hold of our next one and always share some of your thoughts with us, hopefully in the form of an article or letter in **STRIKE!**'s pages. Salut!

I.W.W. May Day 1986 Conference

Fellow Workers,

As the global economic crisis deepens and the reformist unions increasingly turn to class collaboration and nationalist bigotry, workers must build global labor solidarity if we are to successfully resist the bosses' offensive and build a new society.

The coming century of the Haymarket centennial, the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution and the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian Workers' revolt — is a fitting occasion for an international conference of revolutionary unions and rebel workers. Our union, the Industrial Workers of the World, has decided to call such a meeting.

Accordingly, you are invited to this international labor conference. The conference — to be held in Chicago for 4-7 days beginning May 1, 1986 — will include a variety of activities such as rallies, demonstrations, film showings and other cultural events. This will be a working conference stressing the practical exchange of information and arrangements for improving solidarity between revolutionary unions and unionists around the world.

- As we currently envision the conference, sessions would address the following topics:
- (1) Commemorate the Haymarket centennial, the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution, and the Hungarian workers' revolt of 1956.
 - (2) The international struggle for a shorter workweek.
 - (3) Trade information on transnational corporations and build international links between workers exploited by the same transnational employers.
 - (4) Improving solidarity efforts with labor organizations which are victims of repression.
 - (5) The problem of technological unemployment and strategies for dealing with it.
 - (6) The problem of corporate and industrial threats to world ecology, and ways to assert social control over natural resources.
 - (7) Building stronger ties between revolutionary unions by improving communications, sharing information, and strengthening

solidarity.

(8) A general exchange of ideas and experiences in industrial organizing. While speeches and demonstrations will be open to the public, some working sessions will be open only to members of labor organizations with a revolutionary position, or rank-and-file groups which agitate for revolutionary unionism. We are inviting unions which are not controlled by political parties or governments, and which seek the replacement of capitalist and the wage system with a self-managed, worker-run economy.

Conference plans are presently in a preliminary stage and we welcome suggestions as to format, topics to be covered, and additional participants to invite. We would appreciate it if you could send us an indication of interest and your suggestions by August. We will use these suggestions to develop a proposed conference agenda by this winter.

We will need to hear whether your organization will be able to participate in the conference by the end of December, 1985, so that appropriate arrangements (translators, housing, hall, etc.) can be made. We recognize that transportation costs cannot be met by some of you, and where our resources permit we will try to assist those who need aid in order to attend. (Contributions towards this goal would be gratefully accepted.)

We look forward to hearing from you, seeing you at the International Conference in May 1986, and fighting together for labor's emancipation.

In Solidarity,

Jon Bekken
General Secretary-Treasurer
(International Workers of the World)

Prison Education

Dear STRIKE!

I am the acting director of the Black Awareness Organization here at the Kansas State Penitentiary. The Organization is a self-help organization based on education.

We are in need of educational literature to be shared and studied by the members of our Organization as well as the population of KSP. We are self-supported and do not have a stable financial status and, therefore, are asking you to donate any material possible that you may have (i.e., books, newspapers, newsletters, magazines, periodicals, etc.) Your help will be greatly appreciated by our organization.

Thank you for your time and efforts.
Kaia T. Jawara
Acting Director of
Black Awareness Organization

STRIKE! Note: Those organizations wishing to support the request of this group, please mail your contributions to: Kaia T. Jawara, Kansas State Penitentiary, Lansing, Kansas 66043.

LETTERS TO STRIKE!

Art for Art's sake?

Dear STRIKE!

I'd like to comment on the "Art and Revolution" article. I found the argument a bit too fine. Sublimation. Where's the rage? — the rebellious energy; guts; qualitative revolution; blatant

rejection of the system; the difference? I'm against the "meanings" and structures imposed by money and oppression and for ripping them open and staking out new territory, new open fields for creative passion. Can art do this? Does Brian Eno do this?

Where's the rebellion in music today? The music that does this for me is punk, also reggae. Third World and experimental music. The art style I see doing this is a punk, deconstructing, postmodern attitude (when it's raw and unaffected) and the art it produces. Performance art. Street actions. Art that creeps into the street and life and breathes revolution.

Sep

Boulder, Colorado

More letters p. 11

Glasgow Calling

Hello STRIKERS!

As you might know 12 members of the Clyde-side Anarchists last September occupied the 13th floor offices of Price Waterhouse Accounts who sequestered the National Union of Miners' money. The occupation was highly planned and occupiers barricaded themselves in with 8 ft. by 4 ft. steel sheeting bolted to the door's frame which had been measured previously in order to make holes in the sheeting.

Fifty foot banners were then hung out saying "Glasgow Backs the Miners" and "Unemployed Solidarity". The end result was that on May 8th the total fines came to 2000 pounds. So we are appealing to you and your readers to make cheques etc. to "Autonomy Books" and to pass on the information to other Anarchist publications in the vicinity.

Also, one of the occupiers, Angus McInnes is at present in Barlinnie prison on remand for being arrested in connection with animal rights activities while on bail conditions. He's been in 7 weeks already. He was also arrested three times while collecting money for the miners — once while playing his bagpipes. Twenty in total from our group were arrested during the strike for collecting. If anyone wishes to write his address is: Angus McInnes, Prisoner on Remand 3244, Barlinnie Prison, Riddrie, Glasgow, Scotland.

Cheers, Gordon
Glasgow, Scotland.

Against Reagan's Nicaragua Policy

As opponents of the Cold War East and West we protest the Reagan Administration's escalating war on Nicaragua. The nature of the Nicaraguan regime is not the issue. We defend the democratic right of every nation to self-determination in complete freedom from superpower control, whether that domination is justified by the Brezhnev doctrine in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan, or by Reagan's claim of U.S. special interests in Central America and the Caribbean. The application of force against weaker nations blocks democratic social and political change; tightens the superpowers' grip on their respective blocs and spheres of influence, and fuels the arms race with catastrophic consequences for all of us.

To escape from the current global impasse we must find a Third Way in which democratic activists and movements from around the world make common cause to build an alternative to both blocs. We are raising our voices in union against this ominous heightening of the Cold War, and demand an immediate end to the United States' growing intervention in Nicaragua. We challenge the U.S. to set an example of non-interventionism, and we ask the Soviet Union to do the same in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan.

STRIKE! Note: This important appeal, has been endorsed by signatories east and west, including **STRIKE!** and is to appear on the OP-ED page of the New York Times on December 1, 1985. We in **STRIKE!** encourage you to bring this appeal to the attention of your community. You can also write to Daniel Ellsberg, campaign for Peace and Democracy / East and West, P.O. Box 1640, New York, N.Y. 10025 USA.

Get your head out of the sand.

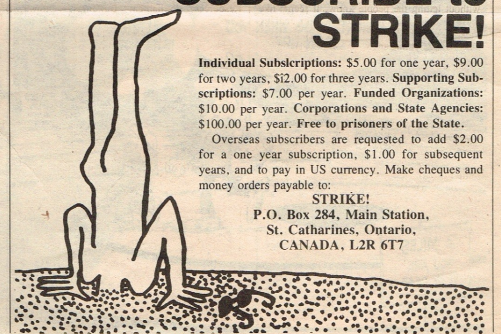
SUBSCRIBE to STRIKE!

Individual Subscriptions: \$5.00 for one year, \$9.00 for two years, \$12.00 for three years. Supporting Subscriptions: \$7.00 per year. Funded Organizations: \$10.00 per year. Corporations and State Agencies: \$100.00 per year. Free to prisoners of the State.

Overseas subscribers are requested to add \$2.00 for a one year subscription, \$1.00 for subsequent years, and to pay in US currency. Make cheques and money orders payable to:

STRIKE!

P.O. Box 284, Main Station,
St. Catharines, Ontario,
CANADA, L2R 6T7



Collins Bay Mining Active Resistance

By Diana Leis

About 250 people stopped all traffic in and out of the Eldorado Nuclear Limited Rabbit Lake and Collins Bay Mines from June 9-13. The 4 day road blockade was initiated by residents of Wollaston Post as another attempt to stop the development of the Collins Bay 'B-Zone' Mine on the west side of Wollaston Lake.

Wollaston residents feel this mine is especially dangerous because the uranium is actually under the water of Wollaston Lake. A dyke has been constructed out of thin sheet pilings to keep the lake water out of the mine area. A large open pit has already been dug and miners will begin digging the uranium by mid-July or sooner.

Residents who have seen the dykes say it is only 4 feet above the water and believe it is not high or strong enough to withstand the strong waves of Wollaston Lake. They fear water will contact the open pit and return to the lake and spread radioactivity from the uranium. They also fear that radioactivity will seep into the lake through the ground and even more will enter the lake when the dyke is removed after the mining stops.

After a tour of these two mines one woman stated: "I don't want the mine to be there because it will destroy us. The wastes from the mine will get into the lake if the water from the pit overflows. These wastes will destroy the water we drink and the food we eat. I would like to see the people making Collins Bay B-Zone disappear from there. They should close the pit they dug and leave."

Local residents are also unhappy because the Rabbit Lake Mine disposal area is not sealed off. "People have seen ducks drinking from the waste tailings pond. What if we eat these ducks? How are we to know if they have radiation in them?" elder Marie Adele Sha'ouille said.

Wollaston residents have just cause for their concerns. Scientists agree that 85% of the radioactivity created in uranium mining remains in the mine wastes. This radioactivity remains for thousands to millions of years and will spread into the air, land, water, plants and animals.

Eldorado Nuclear left millions of tonnes of radioactive wastes, mine shafts and mill buildings when they closed their mine operations near Uranium City in 1982. Some lakes were so full of wastes, that the wastes have overflowed into huge Lake Athabasca. A federal government environment department study in 1977 reported that fish taken from these lakes where those wastes had been placed had higher than normal levels of radioactive radium 226 and lead 210 in their flesh and bones. A 1978 study of this same area stated "...due to the commercial fishing in this vicinity and the high consumption of fish by the Native populations, there would appear to be reasonable grounds for public health concerns."

Fish are a staple food for most northern residents. Wollaston residents also fear the Collins Bay Mine may jeopardize their commercial fishing. The water near Collins Bay is a good trout spot.

Hector Kkailther, Chief of the Wollaston Lac La Hache Indian Band, addressed the group the first day of the blockade: "I've tried my best to have meetings with governments and mining companies to discuss how the mines would affect the people for years to come. But they never did that, they just went ahead on their own without letting the people know. It seems like these people are only interested in making money out of our land. They damage the lake, land and everything and we are left with nothing. That's why we are gathered here today. The land is still beautiful. If we work together as a group and keep protesting, hopefully they'll close the mine so the land will be beautiful for years to come."

Four days of meeting in Wollaston Post preceded the road blockade at the mine entrance. Almost every adult and teenager from Wollaston attended these meetings which often continued until 1:00 a.m. Supporters from other northern and southern communities joined these residents to hear and express concerns and discuss the blockade.

The speech of Wollaston elder Bart Dzeylion represents an accurate summary of the feelings expressed at these meetings. "We are a Dene Nation. We make a living off this land and water. It's our land. For the past years we were proud to be Dene people and proud to have a land with beauty. Now we look and see everything is being destroyed by these mines. All of us are here in a group to help one another to stop this mine."

Mr. Dzeylion also told the 200 people at these meetings: "I used to have my trapline right where the Rabbit Lake Mine is. I have tears running down my face when I see this land now. There are no animals left here. People that used to trap here have to get their money from welfare now."

The majority of the adult population of Wollaston and their supporters began the road blockade the morning of June 14. They learned that no trucks would be coming over the weekend. Chief Kkailther arranged for Eldorado Mine manager Mike Babcock to hold a meeting with them at the blockade on Monday, June 17.

Meetings and discussions continued. People eagerly shared food, tents, prayers, and friendship. The elders created feelings of peace and unity as they sang traditional Dene songs on caribou skin drums. This group of local residents and Native and non-Native visitors soon became one cohesive community.

Richard McKenzie, Mayor of the Cree-Metis community of Southend, 240 km south of Wollaston, reflected the feelings of the on-site supporters: "The water from Wollaston Lake flows in all directions. We came to help the Wollaston people stop the Collins Bay Mine because the water from Wollaston Lake will be coming to Reindeer Lake in a few years. There's never any mine without contamination. Government and health inspectors say it's okay, but there will always be a leak. They said Key Lake was safe, but there was a large spill. This mine is even worse because it's right in the lake. We won't know for a few years if the fish will be killed off."

77 year old Louie Chien from Black Lake frequently gave support: "Every community has the right to speak up for what is best for them. When we see people having problems, we want to help. The government should listen to us instead of neglecting us all along. The government leaders must have read the Bible which says, 'If children wanted bread from you, would you hand them a rock instead of bread?' That's what the government is doing to us, but maybe if we speak up they will listen to us."

On Monday Mr. Babcock informed Chief Kkailther he would not come to a meeting as long as the blockade was on. It was decided late Monday afternoon to temporarily call off the blockade. Another meeting was arranged for Thursday.

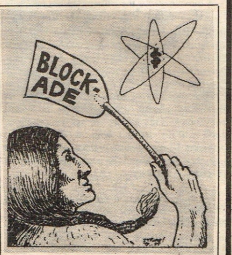
The meeting held Thursday, June 20 in Saskatoon between Chief Kkailther, several Band members, other northern chiefs and Native leaders, and officials from both government and Eldorado Nuclear failed to reach an agreement to close the Collins Bay Mine. A similar meeting was scheduled to be held in Wollaston Post the following week.

Wollaston residents still hope to stop the Collins Bay Mine before ore digging begins. During these recent meetings, Wollaston residents urged people to organize educational events, protests and actions of support in their own communities. They are still asking people to immediately send resolutions, letters, petitions, telegrams, and phone calls requesting that the Collins Bay B-Zone Mine be stopped to:

Premier Grant Devine and Minister of the Environment Neil Hard and Your Member of the Legislature, c/o Legislative Buildings, Regina, Saskatchewan

and Pat Carney, Minister of Energy, Mines & Resources, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Ontario

Send copies of letters & requests for more information to: Lac La Hache Band, Wollaston Lake, Saskatchewan S0J 3C0, Tel: 633-2003



Chile Inside the Resistance

The following letter — from an anarchist group in Chile — was recently published by a Spanish anarchist paper. It has been edited.

Since the beginning of the dictatorship in Chile discussion, organization and direct action have all been intensified. Pinochet's regime has, in fact, managed to solve the problem of radicalizing the population by its use of pure military repression. Arbitrary arrests, military operations/occupations of working class districts and forced expulsions are now everyday occurrences. Many friends have disappeared following raids on vast sectors of the populations (More than 641 people have been expelled).

The media (radio, television, and newspapers) is muzzled and all channels of legal opposition have been strictly prohibited. Only two magazines — "Hoy" and "Mensaje" — are legally distributed but neither contains any relevant information. In order to hold out their power, the Pinochet regime recently decided to enmesh all rifles/guns (They don't have enough!) Political opposition left-wing and bourgeois-democratic, (especially the former) remain completely underground.

Of all the various political organizations, the multi-party bourgeois-democratic alliances, like the "Democratic Alliance" and the "Socialist Block", are in the worst conditions. Their "non-violent" line is useless if we hope to build up opposition. On the other hand, the M.D.P. (Popular Democratic Movement) and the other social/political organizations who have helped build opposition through more effective protests are now in a position to become the vanguard of a mass anti-dictatorial movement, assuming they can continue their activities in the face of increased systematic repression and military control of the streets. To succeed we must effectively combine the mass struggle and revolutionary forces. The most serious problem, however, that affects the more advanced opposition to the regime is internal ideological differences. The M.D.P. is an amalgam of Marxist-Leninist reformism, petty-bourgeois democracy and revolutionary worker influences. Its organization is hierarchical and its political line is imposed from above by the Communist Party. Many of their calls for protest have failed because of wrong timing or because they didn't immediately appeal to all the factions involved. Such popular organizations must be fully prepared before they can hope to mobilize the population. The M.D.P. alone, for example,

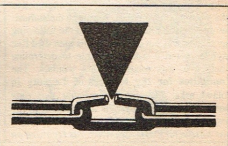
can't mobilize anything except its 'squid' force. The majority of these popular organizations are independent and democratic when it comes to decision-making. They are full of representatives from almost all the many political tendencies, all of who attempt to impose their particular ideology-party.

Regarding our activities, we continue to help organize women's groups and Revolutionary Popular Fronts. As an anarchist group, we are also preparing aims and principles and will send them on as soon as they are finished. We now need specific information (from Spain or Europe) about low cost technical ways and means of distributing revolutionary propaganda (leaflets, etc.) in the streets by using quick actions that are relatively safe. We are, in fact, working on a device called a "lanza-panfletos". It consists of an empty milk jar into which is placed a small explosive charge and a fuse. You put the leaflets on top of the explosives and leave the device in an avenue for a maximum of five minutes before it goes off. The small explosion throws the leaflets up into the air and they are quickly collected up by passers-by. This device endangers no-one. The main problem is that it can only hold 100-150 leaflets and the range is bad. We are also experimenting with sky-rockets that can be safely operated from mountain sides outside villages. We direct them towards the centre of a village and they destroy themselves at a certain height, scattering leaflets in all directions.

Many friends have been caught distributing propaganda by hand because they didn't have the technical means of doing the same job more efficiently and quickly.

Messages of support/financial aid/ideas/publications, etc. via the ABC, c/o BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX.

Reprint from BLACK FLAG, Issue 1.4.85 No. 129. (BM Hurricane, LONDON, ENGLAND WC1N3XX)



State of War Continues

By Brian Amesly

On June 14 Adam Michnik, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Bogdan Lis were added to Poland's growing list of political prisoners. There are now close to 200 according to official sources. The three Solidarnosc leaders received prison terms of 30 to 42 months stemming from convictions on charges of inciting social unrest and illegal union activity.

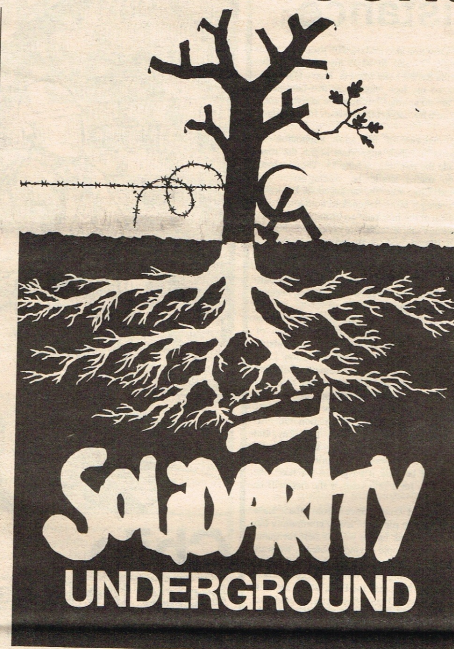
Michnik, Frasyniuk and Lis had been arrested at a meeting on February 13 to discuss a planned 15 minute national strike attempt as a protest against continuing sharp food price increases instituted by the Polish government. Their convictions brought to a climax a closed trial held in a courtroom packed with police. The only evidence used to demonstrate their guilt was the testimony of three police agents. This was sufficient "proof" given to a judge who is a regime hack.

For Bogdan Lis, the February 13 arrest ended a brief two month period of freedom from state incarceration. Previously, from June until December of last year he was held on charges of "treason; among others arising from his leadership role in the Solidarnosc underground's Temporary Co-ordinating Committee (TKK). (See "Bogdan Lis in the Hands of the State", STRIKE! Vol. 4 No. 2, p. 3) Through a quirk in the Polish judicial system he was acquitted due to lack of evidence and sensitivity to Western public opinion.

Lis' conviction this time around is indicative of the state's need to continue with its systematic repression of the underground union movement. So too was the ominous arrest of TKK member for Silesia Tadeusz Jedynak on June 17. Both acts of repression must likewise be seen in the context of widespread popular resentment of the food price rises which can only be effectively opposed through the underground union movement.

MAY DAY

The union's counter-demonstrations this past May Day were a case in point. Some 15,000 persons demonstrated in Warsaw making the food price rises and the demand to release political prisoners their focal point of protest. Smaller demonstrations were reported by underground sources in 12 other cities. The most spectacular and violent were in Gdansk where two separate protests occurred. One involved several hundred workers led by Walesa disrupting the official May Day march with a ten minute sit-in blocking the street. The other involved an hour long violent clash between two to three thousand demonstrators and the ZOMO riot police. Some positive results were reported by none other than the state's leading official public relations mouthpiece Jerry Urban. He acknowledged that 61 ZOMO agents were injured in the confrontation.



Protest against economic attacks on Poland's workers have not been confined to the streets. A series of short unsuccessful strikes to demand compensating wage increases took place in March at the Rosa Luxembourg lighting equipment factory in Warsaw. Most of the workers at the plant are women and true to the prevalence of patriarchy throughout Polish society their wages are dismally low even in comparison with other workers.

These strikes were exceptional events though. Job actions have been brief and scattered ever since the regime began its state of war against

Polish society in December 1981. Tough constraints put in place since then have been effective in preventing anything like the explosive waves of wildcat strikes which rocked Polish state capitalism in the autumn of 1981 and brought the country to the brink of revolution.

Acutely conscious of this and knowing that demonstrations still occur especially every year at May Day, the regime has opted for ruthless preventative action. A series of tough new laws were passed without debate in the Polish parliament in mid-May. One measure expands the right of the police to use preventative detention

for political offenders. Another makes participation in an illegal demonstration subject to a possible two year prison term.

On top of this, in a move clearly directed against underground activity in general sentences have been increased for "participation in an illegal meeting in a private apartment". Fines have been increased for numerous of political offences and, worse still, it is now illegal for a third party to pay the fine. This intended to stifle collections of money through underground and Church sources for victims' repression.

Bounding out of the escalation of repression an attack on the rights of lawyers who defend Solidarnosc activities. Ewa Puszek-Palubaska, a lawyer in Lodz, was recently made a target of repression for her role in a trial of union activists because she refused to co-operate with the security police (SB). The SB arranged to have three of her former clients "confess" to paying her bribes. As a result she has been sentenced to a five year prison term.

"NORMALIZATION"

These new acts of repression paint a grim picture of a worsening situation in Poland both economically and politically. They reveal the state of war imposed three and a half years ago remains the dominant fact of life in Poland today despite the formal lifting of martial law about two years ago. Significantly, the regime maintains that it is pursuing a policy of "normalization". This is the exact same term used in Czechoslovakia after the 1968 Soviet invasion. It shows how in reality Poland's Jaruzelski is no more a "moderate" than the arch Stalinist Husak who heads the regime in Prague. In fact, to counterpose moderates to hard liners is an indication of liberal ignorance of Soviet bloc reality.

So the repression and the state of war go on. But so does Poland's severe economic crisis as revealed by its \$25 billion plus debt to Western banks and never ending price rises. And so does the underground movement which continues to operate across the country. Poland, therefore, continues to be a potential tinderbox. A rupture caused by the continuing global economic crisis or an eruption of social unrest elsewhere in the Soviet military bloc could re-ignite the situation.

Our solidarity with the Polish working class remains as necessary as ever.

Persons interested in more information about the current situation in Poland or who wish to engage in Solidarnosc support activity are invited to contact the Polish Workers Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 284, Main St., St. Catharines, Ontario, L2R 6T7, Canada.

Also, the Workers Solidarity Alliance has set up an Eastern European Solidarity Commission to facilitate support activity for struggles in the Soviet bloc. Write: The WSA, 339 Lafayette St., Room 202, New York, NY 10012, USA.

Saga of Robert and Tomek

By Robert and Tomek's Friends

Robert Cechlacz

20 years

Sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment

Tomasz Lapanow

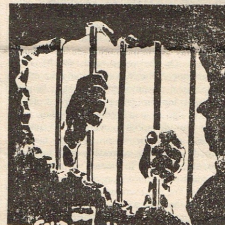
20 years

Sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment

Just after the proclamation of state of war in Poland, Robert Cechlacz and Tomasz Lapanow, both aged 18 and doing an apprenticeship in the Warsaw suburbs, tried to organize armed resistance against the dictatorship. The emotion of the first days of this war, the bloody fights in Silesian mines, the confusion of information, etc. made them believe that an insurrection was to happen soon; as the popular slogan has it, "Winter is yours, spring will be ours."

Robert and Tomasz formed a clandestine group, distributed tracts and disarmed two soldiers. Their intention was to obtain some weapons to set free the members of Solidarnosc kept in Bialoleka jail. On the 18th of February, 1982, they accidentally wounded a member of the military, Sergeant Karos, as they attempted to take his weapon from him. Although the authorities declared in a statement issued the following day that he was out of danger, this man died five days later and it was impossible to determine whether it was related to his wounds. The Committee for the Respect of Legality in Poland asks: The military member was only wounded. For five days, he was treated in the hospital of the Secretary of State, and his health was satisfactory. His testimony was recorded on

tape. He declared he was content with the fact that he was able to direct his aim of fire downwards, thus saving his life. Suddenly, five days later, he dies. What are the exact reasons of his death? (Praworadzono, an underground pamphlet distributed in the Warsaw area, No. 3, August 1984)



Arrested on the 4th of March 1982 and tortured while under investigation, Robert and Tomek were condemned on the 8th of September 1982 to 25 and 13 years of prison respectively by the Military Tribunal of Warsaw. Two other members of the group, Stanislaw Matejczuk and Abbe Zych, have been condemned to 6 years of prison.

The establishment of the military dictatorship has brought about a deep resistance movement in Poland, as well as strong international protest

and opposition. This in itself has helped immensely in the release of most political prisoners in Poland. (The Coordination Committee of NSZZ Solidarnosc in France has estimated that about twenty political prisoners have not benefited from the amnesty proclaimed in July 1984.)

The amnesty, made out to terminate the period of the state of war, did not affect Robert and decreased Tomek's sentence only by a year. We cannot hope for the clemency of the government. The ones who commanded the sadistic murder of Father Popielusko, amongst other crimes, are determined to legally eliminate Robert and Tomek by driving them to suicide, or by destroying them psychologically.

A movement for their liberation has begun in Poland. Together with others, the Committee for the Respect of Legality has called for their liberation, concluding: Let us, and more particularly the prisoners of Bialoleka, demand their liberation. Let us remember, they wanted to fight for us.

The spreading of this kind of solidarity in Poland and abroad is the only hope for Robert and Tomek. This is why we ask all people of good will to demand with us that the two prisoners be regarded as political prisoners and that they be released in accordance with the proclaimed amnesty.

A whole information file about Robert and Tomek, as well as postcards, tracts and posters are available at the following address: Les Amis de Robert et Tomek, BP4, 93301 Aubervilliers

Cedex, France.

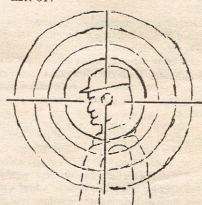
We also give them and their families material and moral support. Information about aid received is included in the information file.

STRIKE! Note: The actions of Robert and Tomek in attempting an armed resistance were not in complete isolation. A group of seven miners were also imprisoned for bombing police stations. They too were excluded from "last year's amnesty" charade and are almost certainly still in prison. Their identities are not known to us. If any of our readers can provide information about these imprisoned workers please contact the Polish Workers Solidarity Com.

P.O. Box 284

St. Catharines, Ont.

L2R 6T7



The authorities view of the working class

Uruguay IMF Turns the Screws

By Mike Harris

Uruguayan workers have been staging a series of protest actions against the rising cost of living caused by the pressure from the International Monetary Fund regarding the payment of the foreign debt inherited from the military government. The foreign debt now stands at \$1/2 billion dollars, or \$1,800 per person.

Partial work stoppages have taken place in the transport industry, the metal industry, health services and other key sectors of industry. This led to a national strike which occurred on June 19th. On June 4th, during the strike by transport workers, there were some confrontations between workers' and bosses' and workers' and police. Several workers were arrested during the incident.

This was the first serious confrontation since the reins of power were taken over by a civilian, President Julio M. Sanguinetti. The Uruguayan working class responded to the president's harsh economic measures with a 24 hour general strike on June 7th.

The economic situation is said by economic experts to be in a "catastrophic state". Purchasing power has fallen over the past ten years by 50% and official unemployment stands at 16%. The various organized sectors of the working class are all united in their struggle against austerity and the ruling class demand that the workers pay for the crisis. This united response by the Uruguayan working class is in line with their other class sisters and brothers throughout Central and South America who are also fighting against similar austerity measures by their "democratic" or military rulers.

All sectors of the workers' movement have been calling for wage rises to compensate for at least part of their losses. The reformist unions have been calling for a moratorium on debt repayments; whereas the revolutionary unionists have been calling for a complete cancellation of payments and for workers' control of society.

Most unions have allied themselves with the Inter-Union Assembly-National Workers Convention (I.U.A.-C.N.T.). The major unions include those national sections affiliated with

the ORIT (associated with International Confederation of Free Trade Unions politics), CLAT (World Confederation of Labour — Catholic unionist politics) and the CPUSTAL (World Confederation of Trade Unions — pro-Eastern Block), as well as smaller local unions and assemblies not affiliated with any labour international.

It is currently unknown to this writer in what industries or unions anarcho-syndicalists are playing a role. At one time in the not too distant past, anarcho-syndicalist were organized in the Regional Federation of Uruguayan Workers (F.A.R.U. — A.I.T.). There was a lively anarcho-syndicalist and anarchist presence and press in that country, and like so many other countries in Latin-America, we are aware of anarchist workers spreading the ideas of a workers' controlled society, free of bureaucracy and centralization of power, as their forerunners have.

Striking Out in El Salvador

The month of May saw two major strikes of public workers in El Salvador. In one, the government called out troops to take over several hospitals that striking workers had occupied, and arrested two union leaders.

Six thousand workers of the Salvadorean Social Security Institute, which provides medical care to all employed people in the country, went on strike May 6. The workers, mostly technical personnel, struck principally over demands for higher salaries — across-the-board increases of \$50 per month. The strike affected five hospitals in three cities and approximately 20 clinics and/or departments in other hospitals.

Eventually, strikers around the country occupied the hospitals, in a coordinated effort to win their demands. Although doctors and nurses reported for work, the strikers controlled the hospitals, turning away 80% of the patients, while accepting emergency cases.

Adding to the impact of the hospital strike, 6,000 members of the Water Workers Union went out on strike May 13.

The Salvadorean government resorted to its entire arsenal of propagandistic, legal, police and military weapons in its efforts to smash the strikes. First, a civil judge ruled that the hospital strike was illegal on "constitutional grounds."

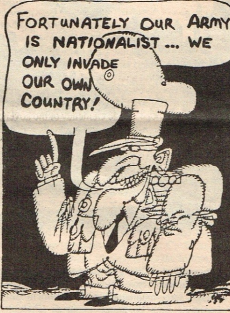
Then, a military judge declared it "subversive." In his state of the union address on Saturday, June 1, President Jose Napoleon Duarte rebuked the unions and, in not so many words, threatened to destroy them. "When the unions are infiltrated and used at the altar of war and destabilization," he said, "they lose their social function and the credibility with the people."

Apparently, the Social Security Workers Union had recently signed a statement supporting the demands of the left-wing guerrilla organizations for resumption of talks with the government.

When Duarte's threats had no effect, he ordered two government security forces, the national police and the treasury police, to raid and occupy a number of hospitals. In San Salvador, the capital, 100 troops, some landing by

helicopter, others entering through the basement and emergency room, stormed the 480-bed General Hospital at 3 a.m. on June 2. They raced through the hospital's eight floors, ordering doctors, nurses, technicians and even patients to lie down with their hands behind their heads, and tying many of them up.

Four people — government undercover agents from the national police — were shot and killed in the emergency room by the invading troops. According to several people in the emergency room at the time, the four men had



arrived at the hospital in a taxi and one asked for medical treatment. Once in the emergency room, they pulled guns and ordered people to lie on the floor. At just that moment, uniformed troops reached the emergency room and, seeing men with guns drawn, shot first and asked questions later.

After "securing" the hospital, the troops

released all but four people, two union leaders — Guillermo Rojas and Jorge Alberto Albornoz — and two people without identity papers. Eventually, all troops but those guarding the hospital gate were withdrawn, but the workers refused to resume hospital functions other than the emergency room.

Two days later, on June 4, at least 1,500 workers and students marched to San Salvador to protest the government's raid on the hospitals and the arrests of the union leaders. Although the government had warned that the march was illegal under El Salvador's state of siege, about a dozen national policemen carrying automatic rifles, who were hidden around the government buildings, stood by as the demonstrators chanted

anti-government slogans.

On June 6, however, the social security workers ended their strike after the government released the union leaders and promised to discuss their other demands. It is not clear whether the strike of the 5,000 water workers also ended at this time.

Reprint from TORCH, June 15-July 14, 1985 (RSL, P.O. Box 1288, New York, N.Y. 10116)

Joining Forces

On May 1st, in the morning hours, a number of anarchists came together to form the Federación Anarquista de Venezuela (Anarchist Federation of Venezuela). Participating in the meeting were a comrade from the CNT-AIT exile group in Venezuela, members of the Grupo Solidario (Solidarity Group), comrades from the Grupo Libertario Vida Solidaria (Living Solidarity Libertarian Group), comrades from the Central University of Venezuela, the "Seagull" (Gaviota) Anarchist Nucleus, and Angel Cappelletti, anarchist author and professor at Simon Bolivar University.

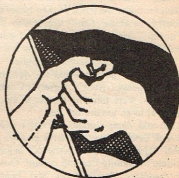
The meeting formed a commission to send out a call to all libertarian forces in Venezuela to set up the FAV. Members of the commission include Serrano (CNT-AIT), N. Torres, (Grupo Libertario Vida Solidaria), Damasos (Universidad Central) and G. Paoli (Nucleo Gaviota).

Presently Venezuelan workers are largely passive, represented by unions tied to political parties and the government. Inflation and unemployment are both at high levels, with 1,200,000 unemployed (out of 16 1/2 million Venezuelans). Only one-third of the population

is working, and for the most part these are under-employed.

In the face of this, Venezuelan anarchists are struggling to organize and to present alternatives. Among concrete activities being discussed are efforts to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Chicago martyrs and combatting unemployment by reducing the working day.

Excerpts from a letter by Gilberto Paoli translated by Mike Harris



The Neverending Persecution of the Nati

LINCOLN COUNTY, OR — The scenario reads like a "good news" — "bad news" story: Dino and Gary Butler are back in their Oregon homeland following a four-year struggle in Canadian prisons; but the most difficult struggle of their lives is being fought in Oregon jails and courtrooms.

Charged with the January 21, 1981 death of a Toledo, Oregon graverobber, Donald Pier, whom reporters have described as an "amateur archaeologist," the Butler cousins were indicted for murder, felony murder, attempted murder, and burglary. Gary also has an additional burglary charge. Convictions on all these charges could result in a minimum sentence of 120 years for Dino and 140 years for Gary!

The attempted murder charges are related to the wounding of Pier's 19 year old son, Paul Pier, who has become the central figure in the prosecution's attempt to prove through mug shots and in-person identifications that Dino and Gary were present at the Pier home on the night of the murder.

During pre-trial hearings, court-appointed defense attorneys Ray Thomas and Pat Birmingham, both of Portland, have been able to establish from the testimony of the District Attorney's Chief investigator, Steve Toliver, and Toledo Police Sergeant Val Batti that Paul Pier failed to identify either of the men even after having been shown the mug shot book on four separate occasions. Batti also testified that the prosecution's highly-touted "identification" of the Butlers in a Canadian prison line-up produced only a tentative identification. Testimony in the hearings has determined that this "identification" of Gary and Dino occurred only after Paul Pier had twice undergone hypnosis and had seen the mug shots at least four times. In addition, defense attorneys pointed out, Gary and Dino were the only two Native men in the line-up, as well as being the only two wearing "prison greens."

During court-granted bail reduction hearings (bail, as usual was denied) Dino addressed the issue of the arrest in Canada and subsequent attempts by the Butlers to return to Oregon to face the charges brought against them in the Winter of 1981:



"I would like to explain to the Court that since I was arrested in Canada on February 25, 1981 and was informed in March that I was indicted in Lincoln County with these charges, I instructed my attorney, Stan Guenther, that I would be willing to waive my rights to an extradition hearing and would return to Oregon to stand trial," he said.

At the time of the arrest in Canada, Butler

said, there were two medicine bundles in the car, including some items that had been returned to his tribe.

"We were on our way to a spiritual encampment at the time of our arrest," he said. Throughout the Canadian trial, and subsequent appeal period, the two men continued to seek extradition to Oregon. While serving in Canada they sought permission to pray in their cell with

the medicine bundles. At that point, Dino told the court, both he and Gary were moved to the observation unit where chains were welded to their cell doors while they were eating lunch. Although the official reasons for the chains centered around the fear that the Butlers would try to escape, or to commit a violent crime to prevent extradition to Oregon, it was always their belief that they should return to Oregon to stand trial, Dino said.

"This is not only an accusation against us, but against the whole Siletz Nation and all indigenous people in the Western Hemisphere. The charges are just one in a series of incidents happening to our people to take away their dignity, our honor as a nation of people," he said.

Reviewing the history of the Siletz Tribe, Butler recounted their journey from the Rouge River area as prisoners of war, and their termination as a tribe in 1956. Although land use was terminated, he said, hunting and fishing rights were not.

"When our people were brought to the Siletz Valley, they had one million plus acres of land. When they were terminated we were paid for almost three thousand acres. We were never compensated in any way for that land. All the timber was not compensated for. Instead of having total fishing rights, we are allowed 200 salmon. We can't fish the Siletz River; we can only fish on three tributaries on the Siletz River and the salmon don't run up because of what the logging companies have done," he said.

Butler also pointed out that even fishing on the tributaries is limited by having to obtain permission to cross property owned by white farmers. Though the Siletz Tribe includes over 1500 people, only 375 deer tags are issued annually, he said.

"All these issues have not been settled as far as a lot of our people are concerned. Instead of working together, all attention is focused on this trial coming up. These charges against us are cover-up charges, to cover up the lies and hypocrisies that have been forced upon our people as a nation."

"They want us to hate them," he said. "They beat us up, threw food at us, threw food under

A Struggle for Land and Life

...the settler and pioneer, have at the bottom, had justice on their side; this great continent could not have been as nothing but a game preserve for squallid savages.

President Theodore Roosevelt: One need look no farther than the former Coast Reservation (Siletz, Oregon) to find an excellent example of the success of the U.S. government's assimilation project against the Native population.

For here on the original 1,300,000 acre reserve, every presidential dictate, every whim of Congress, every Bureau of Indian Affairs mandate was imposed on the Confederated Tribes: education was used to break family and cultural ties; "Christianity" was introduced to fight traditional religions; government laws, such as the homestead act and termination, were used to satisfy the white man's greed.

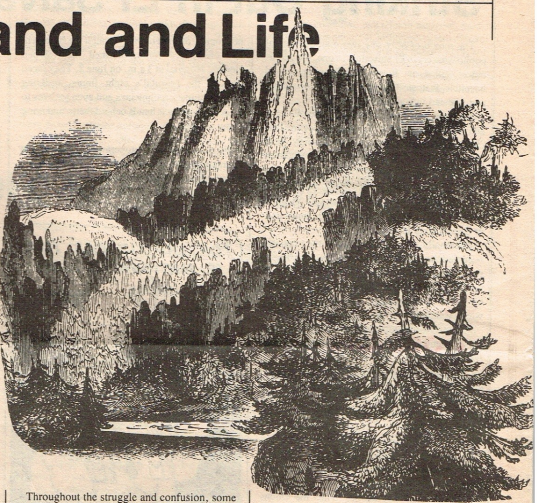
Brought to the massive reserve as the culmination of the "Indian Wars" of southern Oregon and northern California, in the mid 1850's, the confederation of numerous inland and coastal tribes was subjected first to a cruel and inhumane trek on foot and by sea-going steamer and barges, and then to starvation and disease in an unfamiliar climate. Most of the tribes had been forced onto the Executive Order reserve without benefit of a ratified treaty, which meant they were without provisions or housing for the cold, wet winter. The few who should have been provided for under the terms of their treaty were subjected to the abuse of early agents who, using their position for amassing personal fortunes, treated Native women as pack animals and then sold the government-issued supplies. An estimated 6,000 people speaking dozens of different languages from a variety of cultural backgrounds, were thrown together to struggle for survival in an unfamiliar area.

As the cold, damp climate, starvation and diseases took their toll on the Native people, government regulations and "projects" began to decimate the family ties and culture. Government mandated day schools and boarding schools were used to take the children from their

parents, to keep the children from the contamination of their Native languages, customs and heritage. "...exposure of children who attend day schools to the demoralization and degradation of an Indian home neutralizes the effects of the schoolteachers, especially those efforts which are directed to advancement in morality and civilization." (Comm. Hayt 1877). The plan was to turn the "savage" into farmers. Once-proud hunters and industrious gatherers were forced to attempt potato planting and wheat farming.

Meanwhile, the ever-encroaching non-Native population had discovered the rich potential of Yaquina Bay oysters, and of the mighty spruce and fir on the land that had, at the establishment of the reserve, been deemed unfit for anything else. The once sprawling reservation, bounded on the east by the Coast Range, on the north by the Salmon River, the south by the Umpqua River and to the west by the Pacific Ocean, was reduced by government decree until in 1892, as a result of the infamous Dawes Act and governmental pressure on tribal leaders, government's policy of termination further reduced the reserve to 39 acres including the former site of the government buildings. The land was subsequently given to the City of Siletz to be used as a city park. Thus, in a period of one hundred years, the Siletz people were subjected to the horrors of war, reservation life, and governmental experimentation, losing their land, their culture, their language, their federal recognition as Indians.

In the early 1970's, a movement to regain tribal status resulted in restoration of the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians and established a patchwork reservation with the former Government Hill as its headquarters. But, once again, the government was the big winner as pressure brought against the tribal council for a trade-off to secure Congressional support resulted in the council's choosing to give away traditional hunting and fishing rights for token "rights" rather than to submit the issue to a court test.



Throughout the struggle and confusion, some tribal members have tried to preserve their heritage: some maintained the Government Hill cemetery, some continued to speak Chinook Jargon (although the ancient tribal languages have been lost), some gave dance demonstrations at community functions.

With restoration came a renewed awareness of the loss of culture, tradition and history. But with it also came new problems of understanding — problems we believe are rooted in the government's assimilation project. So successful was the project that it is difficult for most tribal members today to conceive of the enormity of

their loss — the government's way has become their way.

It is this that Dino and Gary Butler strive to overcome — they work for a renewed awareness of Native heritage, culture, tradition. They want tribal members to understand their own history and how the genocidal practices of the government have so effectively destroyed the pride and power of a once mighty nation. And, they strive to show their people how those genocidal practices are still being waged not only against the two of them, not only against other Native people, but against the Siletz people.

ve People

our beds, made us visit in chains. They wanted up to come back down here full of hate to give credibility to these charges," Butler emphasized.

Addressing the issue of the murder charges filed against the Butlers in Lincoln County, Dino said, "We feel sorry for Don Pier and his family. It should never have happened to him, to us, to the Siletz Nation, to our ancestors. But here are reasons for it. I always believed that it was part of my responsibility to come back down here to find out why did all this happen. Nobody has ever been arrested for graverobbing."

Butler said the isolation, transfer to various Canadian prisons, and accusation of break-out conspiracies were attempts to "create an image that we are desperate people filled with hate and bitterness."

It is for his outspoken criticism of non-action by Oregon police and government officials against rampant graverobbing that Butler supporters believe he has been targeted. Despite threats made upon his acquittal on charges resulting from the shoot-out at Oglala, Dino has continued to be vocal in his fight against injustices to Native people. He "came home" to Oregon in the late 1970's only to find his homeland and tribe being stripped of the beauty and pride that had once existed. His fight against the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians "giving away" of their hunting and fishing rights, as well as his efforts to stop desecration of the graves, brought the writ of many of his own people, as well as authorities who wished to silence him. Joining his cousin in the fight for their people, Gary has fallen "their" to the same targeting.

The Butler Support Group believes whoever killed Don Pier provided, perhaps unwittingly, the opportunity the authorities had been waiting for, and they seized that opportunity when Dino and Gary were arrested in Canada a month after the Toledo murder.

The Butler case is an historic one involving several vital issues: the rights of Native people to practice their religion both inside and outside of prison, the problem of the desecration of Native burial sites or "grave-robbing," violations of the judicial system by federal and state governmental agents, the crimes of genocide committed against the Siletz people, the abuse of police powers and the right of all people to a fair and just trial. Most importantly, at the heart of the Butler case are issues of land and life, as it is for their love of the land, and of the people of the land, that they are being held prisoners of war. Their case is a blatant example of the continuing crimes being waged by the federal government against Native people and the Mother Earth. The struggle of Dino and Gary is a struggle for life, but it is one based on respect for all life.

The Butler Support Group is in need of funds to continue their educational work to ensure a fair trial for Dino and Gary. Send donations to S.O.T.P.S.T.B.F., P.O. Box 1178, Newport, Oregon, 97365 USA

New Trial, Possible

On October 15th the ordeal of Leonard Peltier took a new positive turn as oral arguments for a re-trial were heard in the U.S. 8th Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. Following the presentation **STRIKE!** telephoned the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee and was told that there is real hope that this could finally result in Leonard getting a new trial early in the coming year.

However, whether this happens depends in part upon us. Our support is needed in order to sway the court in favour of the defense. For this reason, we at **STRIKE!** strongly urge our readers to send letters stating why Leonard Peltier deserves a new trial to Judges Donald Ross, Gerald Heaney and John Gibson c/o The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals, 1114 Market St., St. Louis, MO. 63101, USA.



Mobilizing for Justice

By Arthur J. Miller

On May 24, 1985, Leonard Peltier's motion for a new trial was denied by Judge Paul Benson. Now Leonard's case goes back to the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals. Many believe that this may be his last chance so the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee is stepping up its activities. There will be a mass rally in St. Louis and walks from three federal prisons to St. Louis. In addition, there will be a 24 hour vigil in front of the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The two local support groups in Kansas City have had some success in getting the word out on Leonard's case and Big Mountain. The first meeting back in March drew over twenty people. Public meetings were also held at The Heart of America Indian Center and at St. Francis Cafeteria with a Chicago Indian activist and international representative of L.P.D.C. Over twenty people attended the meeting at the Indian Center, where Big Mountain was also discussed. Another twenty to thirty people attended the meeting at St. Francis Cafeteria. On June 6, over forty people attended a meeting at the Public Library in Lawrence Kansas. The meeting was fruitful and a new support group was formed as a result of that gathering. A number of mailings for both Peltier and Big Mountain have been done. These include the petitions on Peltier's case. Signatures were also gathered at meetings. To date, over 2,000 signatures have been received. The Defense Committee is also in the process of updating and reprinting **In Total Resistance**, statements and poetry from Leonard Peltier,

Standing Deer and Bobby Garcia. A printer and co-publishers are being sought. Co-publishers are those who wish to help get this very important pamphlet back in print by doing one of two things. First, by donating money to help pay for the printing costs (Please make cheques out to the *Leonard Peltier Support Group* and mail them to: *P.O. Box 602, Kansas City, MO 64108*). Second, you can help by ordering 50 or more copies before printing. You will receive copies at cost



plus 10%. The 10% is to pay for free copies to be distributed for fundraising purposes.

Recently, two members of the Peltier Support Group were interviewed on a talk show on Cable-TV watched by over 50,000 people (the interview is being played four times). The Support Group also helped in organizing Big Mountain Day, international information pickets, on July 6, one year from the relocation date. This will be repeated on November 6, six months from the deadline. To date, over 31 organizations have endorsed this action.

All supporters of Leonard Peltier are asked to write letters of protest and appeals to Judges Donald Ross, Gerald Heaney and John Gibson at: *Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals, 1114 Market St., St. Louis, MO 63101*. Obtaining signatures for a petition to be sent to the Judges would also be extremely helpful. Information to be included in the petition is as follows:

We, the undersigned, support the motion of Leonard Peltier for a new trial. We believe that the facts of multiple handwriting on vital ballistics reports, Agent Hodge's perjury on the witness stand and his admission of having seen the FBT teletype that revealed information of the different firing pin on the critical AR-15, all combine to warrant a new trial which provides access to all evidence.

Please mail the petitions with signatures and donations to help meet costs of the very important upcoming mailings to: *L.P.S.G., P.O. Box 6130, Kansas City, KS 66106*.

Instead of Prisons

By Claire Culhane

Life is full of compromises. Some we have to make, others we don't.

What started out to be a 25 Day Fast to Protest the 25 Year Sentence, ended as a **Public Education Campaign on the Prison System**, on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. It was never intended that any one person was to martyr themselves fasting the entire 25 days (May 13-June 6). Only that this period would be considered a protest period during which anyone, anywhere could participate for any number of days, to show their solidarity.

However, too much time was being wasted clarifying this point, detracting from the major issues outlined previously in **STRIKE!** (June/July 1985). Seeking support from other concerned groups threw up the next roadblock. Why revive calls for capital punishment by campaigning for elimination of the legislative substitute (the 25 year minimum sentence) we were asked, when for the moment, the hysteria appeared to have subsided.

That our efforts would receive the minimum of media coverage proved to be the understatement of the year. Two press conferences plus 25 days on the Hill netted exactly a 1½ minute television coverage at 11:30 p.m. and one short reference in the local French language newspaper, and NOTHING ELSE. However, our final press release declared the campaign a success, measured by the 5,000 fact sheets handed out to hundreds of people — workers, tourists, politicians.

Five years ago there would have been far more hostility than what we found as more people were willing to stop, listen and talk; representing about 50% (not the antagonistic 70-80% so often quoted). One of our primary goals being to reduce the judicial review date from 15 to 10 years for the 25 year minimum life sentence *before parole eligibility*, received a thorough going-over. Also, ideas for improved treatment for women prisoners and recognition of religious and spiritual needs of Native Indian prisoners were also well received.

Despite the fact that Federal prisoners still do not have the right to vote, some of the eight Members of Parliament interviewed made the point that when they are contacted by their constituents to help a prisoner-relative, they do become involved. After all, a potential 120,000 votes are there to be won or lost, assuming each prisoner can call upon ten relatives or friends.

The simmering crisis in Canada's prisons was further incorporated into a Five point questionnaire issued to M.P.'s for their personal attention:

- reduce from 15 years to 10 the parole eligibility review date for the 25 year minimum life sentence;
- abolish the systematically unequal treatment of women in Canadian prisons;
- secure equality for the religious and spiritual rights of aboriginal prisoners;
- preserve privileged mail rights and client-

counsel confidentiality;

- persuade M.P.'s to use their prerogative to visit Canadian prisons and meet privately with prisoners.

Four well attended Thursday evening sessions took place at a nearby Community Centre for further discussions on such topics as: **redefining crime & criminals, the death penalty as a response to violence; the Canadian prison system: an exposé; alternatives to imprisonment & community involvement**, and showing of films.

And, for those who came to the Hill to harass, this particular participant had little difficulty sending them on their way by pointing to the cameras placed at four strategic points (Peace Tower, East and West Buildings and at the foot of the Hill atop another building). Reminding them that the RCMP definitely have a big, thick file on myself, they would have to anticipate being questioned some day into the future as to what they were talking to me about on Parliament Hill in June 1985. End harassment, as they beat a hasty retreat.

Next time we plan a campaign, we will issue a press release stating that we do not want the media to attend. We prefer to speak directly with hundreds of people to get our message across.

UPDATE:

The 2nd International Conference on Abolition of Prisons (June 25-27) in Amsterdam, once again saw delegates gather to exchange ideas. A shattering 15 minute video of the notorious women's prison at Holloway, outside of London, was shown by Prue Henderson who had been teaching there for twenty years. Unable to bear it any longer, three weeks earlier she had broken the Official Secrets Act (used to prevent all employees, professionals and media from ever revealing what they see inside prisons). The level of medical incompetence (spelled: cruelty), gross mistreatment and harrowing details should have joined with the current reports emanating from Brazil to set the note of the Conference. To date, 17 prisoners have been beaten to death by their fellow prisoners after their name was selected in a daily lottery in order to bring world attention to their plight. The B.B.C. finally filmed the sight of something still alive in a cell (which is allowed out once a month to wash). It was hardly distinguishable from an animal. We still don't know if the prison has been shut down, if the prisoners have been released, or what is happening to them.

Instead, the delegates to Amsterdam had their energies cleverly (sic) diverted by a pre-arranged noon hour simulated purse-snatching episode in the cafeteria, later to be explained by two police department psychologists at the plenary session where the Canadian and American delegates were to have delivered their reports.

A Canadian delegate movingly pointed out "This is the way prisoners are treated, who are powerless to avoid being objects of psychological experimentation. But, we are not prisoners, so let's get on with our own Conference." Many

more hours of stupid argumentation were wasted before we got back on track...much to the despair of those who had come to Amsterdam for more useful direction along the road to prison abolition.

The experience was topped by the four day **1985 Congress on Criminal Justice** at the posh Vancouver Hyatt Regency Hotel, no less. Sponsored by the Canadian Criminal Justice Association and B.C. Corrections Association it hosted 400 delegates and 60 workshops. The theme **exploring today's trends and tomorrow's options in criminal justice** proved to be equally bereft of any course of action to change the prevailing chaos which sees more prisons being built while talking about 'the quality of justice in a high-tech society.' The new privatization trend was well displayed at the booth demonstrating the Control Data Corrections System. "When incarceration is too much and probation isn't enough." More in the next issue about this electronic anklet which links house-arrest prisoners to computer data centres as a way of abolishing prisons — but not the prison system.

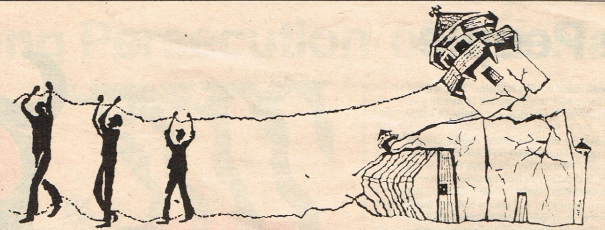
Human problems must be treated in a human manner. To quote just one example: How to really help the 8 year old prostitute temporarily housed in one of the 'better' B.C. detention centres where the fine level of counselling and home-life atmosphere soon converted her back into the role of any other little 8 year old girl. However, release date saw her back on the street since budgets do not include funding for follow-up. But, the province of B.C. does boast a million dollar budget to build a new prison for 'hard core youth offenders'.

These two conferences mark the end of conference-going in my busy schedule, with the sole, possible exception of invitations where some plan of action is the agenda.

NEWS BRIEF

Quoted from Solicitor General Elmer MacKay's May 24th reply to my concern about the "modification of Drone rockets employing prisoners at Bowden Medium Security prison in Alberta".

"rockets which are being altered under the direction of the Canadian Forces Base Research Station at Suffield, Alta., is just part of a production line thing we do to create more work in the institution, not a complicated type of thing, but it's too small for a big company to entertain, popular among prisoners because it offers them a change of pace from building and repairing office furniture and mail container equipment. They particularly like the rocket modification because they can see they are doing something useful and their efforts are appreciated. They rather enjoy it and take a lot of pride in it. lends itself to a bit of diversity and contains a challenge for them because of the quality of the quality control standards," according to Bowden's Assistant-Warden on Industries.



How far are we distanced from the rationale which last week justified construction of a new prison at Port Cartier (in Brian Mulroney's constituency) because "workers like to help boost the economy," from the rationale when the first German I met after the war insisted he had had no part in the 1939-45 Holocaust in his own country, that he was not a Nazi, that he was just a small manufacturer — producing what? producing ovens?

Not to be discouraged!

A new day is breaking as more and more people in more and more areas begin to look to more non-violent civil disobedience actions to reinforce our own empowered in our daily lives.



Class War in West Virginia

By Mike Harris

Since October 1, 1984, the miners at A.T. Massey have been on strike against the Shell and Fluor multinational corporations, who have refused to sign contracts between the United Mine Workers (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Owners Association. The coal bosses wanted several givebacks including a reduced work week (with reductions in pay), less fringe benefits and the elimination of health and safety committees on the premises.

The strike dragged on until February when the company attempted to fire all strikers. The entire labour community in West Virginia responded by mobilizing and joining in solidarity. Demonstrations in which thousands of workers participated were organized, forcing the company to

retreat from its plan to fire the strikers.

At this point, the Massey-run Spruce Creek processing plant in Lobata began to operate with scab coal, something that the company had not attempted previously. The miners retaliated by setting up mass pickets, blocking trains delivering scab coal. With the support of other workers, they also used other forms of direct action such as the armed defence of picket lines (against armed company thugs) and sabotage of company installations.

The next day, after learning a lesson from the previous day's actions, the truck convoy was led by an armoured car. Another battle broke out and this time a company truck was set on fire.

The miners are still continuing their struggle against the two multinationals up to the present time.

It is important to note that the Fluor Corporation has more than \$4.5 billion in contracts with

the South African government to build and maintain coal-to-oil conversion plants in that racist ruled country. In November of 1984, 6,000 black Sasol (conversion company) workers joined in the national "stay aways" (general strikes). The Sasol Corp., with the help of Fluor Corp., recruited replacements and supervisory personnel to train scabs. As with all other capitalist multinationals, exploitation knows no boundaries. Nor should the world's working class know any boundaries. In this vein, it should also be noted that the Massey workers are in direct contact with their black South African counterparts making the connection between the struggles known to the world and are currently expressing various forms of solidarity with each other.

The South African Solidarity Commission of the Workers Solidarity Alliance (associated with

the International Workers Association) urges all concerned people to support this struggle. The South African Solidarity Commission also urges all libertarian workers to join in our efforts to promote worker-to-worker contact with the emerging black independent movement and to work towards building an organized libertarian alternative to (and independent of) the various South African solidarity movements.

We can be contacted at the following addresses: c/o P.O. Box 1443, Morgantown, West Virginia, 25330 or 339 Lafayette St., Room 202, New York, N.Y. 10012 or c/o P.O. Box 5, Rosendale, New York, N.Y.

In the Eye of the Philippine Storm

By Zoltan Grossman
Manila Correspondent

Brothers and sisters, the social volcano is beginning to erupt. So announced Roberto Ortolas, secretary-general of the May First Movement (KMU), at a celebration of the fifth anniversary of the union confederation's founding. In recent years, the KMU had eclipsed the pro-regime Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) and reformist unions associated with the World Federation of Trade Unions. The two weeks around May 1 proved that KMU is one of the most powerful forces in the Philippine society, a force to be reckoned with by President Marcos, the military, and the U.S.

The KMU's International Solidarity Affair was staged the week before May 1 to draw support from foreign trade unions. Labour confederations in Australia, New Zealand, Ireland and Italy have withdrawn recognition of the TUCP and given it to KMU. Representatives from 11 countries in Asia, Western Europe and North America attended, including the Philippine Workers Support Committee, based in Honolulu. Many travelled throughout the country to experience labour conditions first-hand, and a few were harassed by the military on picket lines.

According to labour institute statistics, workers' conditions in the Philippines are steadily deteriorating. At least 57% of the population is unemployed or only partially employed (working no more than one hour in two months), the figure being higher in Metro Manila, which has an official unemployment rate of 16%. Over one million workers lost their jobs last year, and 2,205 factories went on strike. Wages are the lowest in Southeast Asia, with many workers making only the equivalent of \$1.50 a day, below half the minimum wage for Manila. Strikes are often met with detentions, scabs, military attacks on picket lines, and systematic death squad murders. In his Labour Day address from Malacañang Palace, President Marcos requested a moratorium on strikes, and threatened a crackdown on labour leaders. The economic-political crisis (which many older Filipinos claim is more severe than the Japanese occupation) is such that unions have become, as one observer put it, "either Left or left-behind." It is this same process that has swelled the ranks of the New People's Army (NPA), the military wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines, with thousands of unemployed workers.

The Labor Day march in Manila drew 50,000 workers (in contrast to the TUCP's 8,000), who converged from eight points in the city. Representatives spoke from striking unions, a women's labor alliance, a group which organizes Filipinos working abroad, and a bank employees union which opposes World Bank loans to the regime, as well as other sectors of Philippine society.

Agapito "Butz" Aquino, younger brother of the slain senator, delivered a strongly anti-imperialist and pro-socialist speech, supporting general strikes and hinting none-too-subtly at

higher forms of struggle. While some activists claimed the speech marked Aquino's "coming of age", others felt he was positioning himself for political ascendancy within the Left. Either way, the speech was another sign that political figures are being forced to choose sides in the rapid polarization of society, and many see their stars

alliances based on municipality or region rather than industry, so as to incorporate community issues and support into factory organizing. This interpretation is so advanced in the area around the Artes plant in Malabon municipality that the organization looks more like the preformation of a workers' council than a union which has been

neither in America or Russia."

Elsewhere in the Philippines on May 1, over 20,000 workers and peasants marched in Bataan province to protest multinational exploitation in the Export Processing Zone and the nuclear plant which is due to go on line this summer. Three people were killed by the military as they at-

The march of protest



rising with the Left opposition rather than traditional political structures. The polarization and openness of this opposition was most evident in a speech by the firebrand journalist Wally Carbonnel, who referred to the NPA as the "New Place Agency."

Members of the foreign delegation also delivered statements followed by a rousing chorus of "Solidarity Forever." A British trade unionist said that labour conditions he had seen were "similar to conditions in Britain during the Victorian era 100 years ago," while Australians pointed to small dockworkers' actions which have taken place in their country in solidarity with Filipino workers.

The international guests repeatedly said how impressed they were with the state of militant unionism in the Philippines, in contrast to the dominance of "yellow unions" they experience at home. The Valenzuela municipality of Metro Manila, which calls itself the "strike capital of the Philippines," had a extraordinary work stoppage on April 25, and 30 strikes ongoing. The KMU stresses the formation of workers'

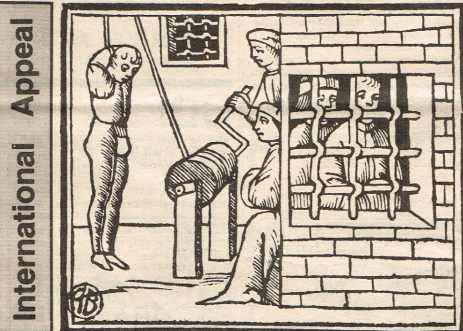
on strike for a year. In nearby Navotas, urban poor organizers are talking openly about experimentation with workers', peasants' and fishermen's councils with direct control over production and distribution of essential goods in a barter economy. Necessary preconditions they say, are intensive education of these sectors.

At least 778,000 workers have taken Genuine Trade Unionism courses, which one radical student claimed are more sophisticated than the political education he received. KMU organizers say this education allows decentralization of workers' networks, leading to a remarkable proliferation of unions run by the workers themselves, rather than relying on traditional bureaucracies. Besides generating powerful general strikes, the structure is said to be more democratic and less vulnerable to crack-downs. In addition, the KMU follows the lead of the Philippine movement as a whole, in its fierce independence from foreign control. KMU Chairman Rolando Olalia emphasized a global internationalist unionism "with its headquarters

pled to join the march, and marchers on the long route were joined at one point by NPA guerrillas. In Davao City in the southern island of Mindanao, a large sign was hung in front of the main department store readings: "Closed Tomorrow, The People Are On Strike."

May 2 and 3 marked the "Wolfgang Bayan" or People's General Strike in Mindanao. Called to protest economic conditions and the intense militarization of the region, the "Weiga" caused a "total paralysis of economic activity," according to organizers of the New Patriotic Alliance (BAYAN). Transport, factory and educational work completely ceased, a situation reinforced by barricades, indicating further the isolation of the regime. The strike prepared the way for a summit of all political forces in Mindanao on May 7 in Davao. Labor organizers in Metro Manila predict an escalating series of general strikes to reform or bring down the regime, and are concentrating on organizing critical industries to pave the way for a national general strike.

Condemned to Death



International Appeal

The following is a letter which STRIKE! received from the General Secretary of the AIT and was translated by a friend of the STRIKE! Collective.

To:

All branches and groups of the AIT
All libertarian militants
All workers

Comrades,

There are three men in Japan waiting for the confirmation of their death sentences by the Supreme Court. Two are accused of terrorism, and one is suspected of sympathizing with the actions of armed groups that fight the dominant system.

Two of the men are Masashi Daidoji and Toshiaki Kataoka, militants of the "Anti-Japanese Armed Front of Asia". Their crime consists of an attempt to eliminate the emperor (the national divinity) whom they believe to be responsible for the genocide of 10,000 people through Japanese militarism during W.W.II, in attacking Japanese multinationals that exploit Oriental workers, and in fighting for the independence of the smaller Asian nations oppressed by the Japanese empire.

The third man condemned to death is Katsuhisa Omori, who in spite of being innocent, was implicated in these actions mainly due to his anarchist beliefs. In addition to the above men, Yoshimasa Kurokawa is sentenced to life imprisonment.

oment, Hisaichi Ugajin to 18 years in prison, and a woman, Mariko Arai, to eight years. The Omori case has been well publicized by the world libertarian press.

We stand beside those who fight imperialism of any kind — financial, military or religious — and the authoritarian terrorism of all states in

their practice and defense of terrorism.

In the early fall, the Supreme Court of Japan will dictate the final sentence, and considering how severe the laws are in this country, it will be difficult to obtain any changes in the sentences, even for Comrade Omori. Because of the urgency of this situation and the appeal of the

Japanese section of the International Workers' Solidarity Movement (WSM-IWA), the secretary of the AIT asks the workers and libertarian militants of the world to protest at Japanese embassies and consulates. It is also vital to send letters to the imperialist authorities and to the Defense Committee for these victims of state repression. Letters of protest can be sent to the following addresses:

Committee Supporting Omori in Tokyo
35 Chitose, P.O. Box Seragaya-Ku
Tokyo, Japan

Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro
Nagata-cho 2-3
Chiyoda-Ku
Tokyo, Japan
Supreme Court
Hayabusa-cho 2-3
Chiyoda-Ku
Tokyo, Japan

Comrades: The struggle of the Asian peoples for their economic claims and their fight for human rights is a very difficult one. The comrades from the WSM-IWA inform us that "Japan is going through an accentuated stage of neo-imperialism and the workers' front cannot stop the capitalists' attack, so we, the workers, fight the system groping the way in the darkness."

Fraternal and libertarian regards,

Fidel Giron Canoyra
General Secretary of the AIT
Madrid

STRIKE! UNCLASSIFIEDS

Do you have a product, service or publication that might be of interest to the Anarchist/Libertarian community? Why not take advantage of a free STRIKE! Unclassified Ad. Please keep ads as brief as possible. If you can afford to enclose one dollar per insertion, if you can't, forget it. Ads will be run twice unless renewed or re-submitted. Send to STRIKE! Unclassifieds, P.O. Box 284, Main Station, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada, L2R 6T7.

The Gentle Anarchist — a quarterly newsletter of non-violent anarchism. Anarchism with a human face? P.O. Box 1313, Lawrence, KS 66044-8313, USA. Please enclose 60¢ for postage — US postage please.

WOBBLE is a quarterly bulletin with news about revolutionary unions in North America. Past issues have included news about the IWW, U.S. business unions, rank-and-file revolts against bureaucracy, trends in capitalism, high tech government regulation of unions, and the International Workers Association. A one year subscription is only \$2. Write to WOBBLE, PO Box 2824, Station A, Champaign, IL 61820.

BANG Notes is the newsletter with the correct line from the Brooklyn Anti-Nuclear Group. We kick butt *Right and Left*. Our slogans are: "Don't rock the boat, sink it!" and "Don't turn the tables around, turn them over!" No one is protected from our wrath! Also available is Return Address: Moscow (2 last issues available), a magazine on the independent peace movement in the USSR. Subscribe to both or die of boredom! \$1.00 each. For sample copies write: BANG, GPO Box 2666, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202, USA.

Dino & Gary Butler: A Story of Struggle to Honour Life is a new brochure available from the Butler Support Group documenting the several year-long ordeal of these two American Indian Movement political prisoners. For copies write: The Butler Support Group, P.O. Box 1178, Newport, Oregon 97365, USA. Please enclose a generous donation towards costs. The group desperately needs funds in order to continue its support work.



The Other Israel is a newsletter published by the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace (ICIPP). The ICIPP is an Israeli organization dedicated to spreading the idea of Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, leading to direct negotiations between Israel and the PLO towards peace between Israel in its pre-1967 borders and a Palestinian state in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and the Gaza Strip. **The Other Israel** contains commentaries on Israeli and Middle Eastern events and news of ICIPP activities and the Israeli peace movement in general, i.e. meetings with Palestinians, protests and demos, the refusal of Israeli military service, and political art in Israel.

Free sample copies are available from P.O. Box 956, Tel Aviv, Israel 61008 or from The American-Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian peace, c/o Mary Appleman, 4816 Cornell Ave., Downers Grove, Ill. 60515, USA.

The Frank Little Memorial Press is a small movement press which will open up this spring in Kansas where the Survival Network Information Center is now located. There will be many things we will be able to do once we have the press group working, but the most important will be more efficient solidarity work.

To pay for the needed equipment we have started a Survival Network Press Fund. We intend to get an offset press and a good copier. The idea of this appeal is to have some of the people who have aided or who may aid to help pay for the equipment we need to aid them with. With this equipment we will be able to aid prisoners, strikes and other struggles with greater speed. We will be able to get the word out to more people. The goal of the press fund is \$2,000.

We need your help. We need your \$10, \$20 or more donations and maybe some of you could put together a benefit for the press fund. Remember, dear friends, what we build today may someday be that which will be fighting for your fate. Please help us if you can. Thank you. Write: The Survival Network Press Fund, P.O. Box 6130, Kansas City, KS 66106, USA.

The Activist is the bi-monthly newsletter of the ACT for Disarmament (formerly Against Cruise Testing) Coalition. It provides news, analysis and opinion on the arms race and resistance, particularly within Canada. Sample copies are available for the cost of postage. Regular subscriptions are \$5.00. Supporting subscriptions \$10.00. Write ACT for Disarmament, 112a Harbord St. Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

SLIDE LIBRARY — 5000 slides catalogued and cross referenced under headings from Protests and Pollution to Sexism and Violence and including Native Peoples, Consumerism and Peace. Non-profit and worker-controlled. Our name comes from Kai Utah Clouds, assassinated in Guatemala for his important work against the genocide of Native Peoples there. (416) 964-1278 mornings. **KAI VISION WORKS**, Box 5490, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, CANADA, M5W 1N7. We also rent selected slide shows.

Anarchist historian seeks material for the creation of an anarchist archive. Persons with any old anarchist journals, papers, books, etc. are requested to donate or inquire about the project. Please write: Jerry Kaplan, 46 Tremlett St., Dorchester, MA 02124, USA.

A Boston area branch of the Workers' Solidarity Alliance (U.S. Affiliate of the International Workers Association) is now forming. Our activities include support of labour struggles, Polish Solidarnosc, South African workers, etc. Contact: WSA, P.O. Box 1753, Cambridge, Mass. 02238, USA.

L'Insecurite Sociale advocates the abolition of the market economy and wage labour. It stands for the creation of new social relations and a new human community. Persons interested in French language pamphlet 'Communisme: Elements de Reflexion' can write to: L'Insecurite Sociale, B.P. 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12, France.

Solidarity With 121

121 Bookshop was opened in January 1981 by Anarchists looking for an outlet for anarchist literature in South London. Since then it has housed a cafe, a libertarian documentation centre (the Kate Sharpley Library) and a Self-help Housing Information Resource Library. It is still used by several groups, including South London DAM-IWA as a meeting place and mailing address. Since 1982 the building has also been used as an advice and help centre for homeless people.

The bookshop is open 7 days a week and has always been run on a voluntary basis by the 121 Collective. It is a Squat and one of the few buildings to survive the Brixton riots in the Summer of 1981 unharmed. Since the 81 riots a Secret Council Committee (headed by Ted Knight, the Lambeth Council Labour Group Leader) has supervised the destruction and partial rebuilding of the entire area around 121 Raiton Road. By 1985 most of the shops, houses and clubs have been evicted and demolished. In 1984 a row of houses in Effra Parade, opposite 121 Bookshop, were evicted by 150 riot police in a 4 am raid. The Squatters, mostly Anarchists, barricaded the street and fought the police but failed to stop the evictions and demolition.

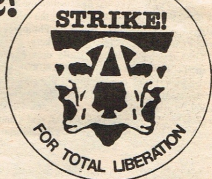
Thousands of Anarchists from all over the world have visited 121 Bookshop since it opened and hundreds of public meetings have been held there. More recently the bookshop cellar has been used (for the first time) to hold regular benefits. **Black Flag** the anarchist newspaper is distributed from the premises every two weeks. In the past the building has also been used by a women's self-defence group, women from Greenham Common Peace Camp, prisoner aid and miner's support work.

The building was a derelict property owned by the local Lambeth Council before Anarchists occupied it. At the moment the "Socialist" Labour Party control Lambeth County under the leadership of 'Red' Ted Knight, a Marxist who was once expelled from the Labour Party as a result of his 'extreme' views. His hatred for Anarchists and local Squatters is no secret nor is his personal vendetta against 121. The Bookshop was raided by the police in 1984 (looking for guns) and attacked by right-wingers. Lambeth Council took 121 Collective to Court to obtain an eviction order in 1983, but then adjourned the case indefinitely. In June 1984, the Council again started eviction proceedings but the magistrate decided that the Collective had a right to a Civil Court case which was to take place on 17th and 20th May, 1985. These have been adjourned to a later date, however, the collective is still threatened with eviction.

An attempt to evict 121 will naturally be resisted by thousands of Anarchists and Squatters in the area and from beyond. There is only one Anarchist bookshop in South London.

Don't let there be none. Protest letters to: Labour Group, Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton Hill, London SW2. G.A. Lewsey, Directorate of Administration and Legal Services, London Borough of Lambeth, Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton Hill, London SW2. Solidarity messages to: 121 Bookshop, 121 Raiton Road, Herne Hill, London SE24. (01) 2746655.

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STRIKE! buttons are now available featuring a black design on either a red, yellow or white background. They cost \$1.00 each plus 20 per cent for postage and handling. Bulk rates (10 buttons or more) are 0.70¢ per button plus 10 per cent for postage and handling. Order from:

STRIKE!, P.O. Box 284, Main Station, St. Catharines, Ontario, CANADA, L2R 6T7.

SDI

Continued from p. 1

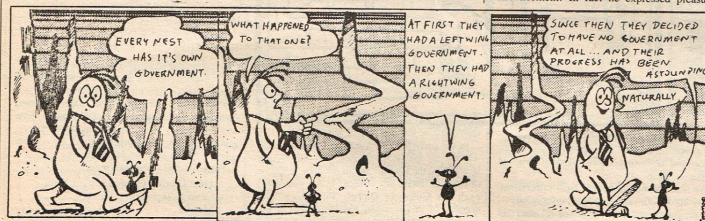
what the decision will really mean, the truth of the matter is self-evident. The U.S. government's positive reaction is therefore hardly surprising.

Ronald Reagan felt no grief at the Mulroney announcement. In fact he expressed pleasure

with Mulroney's re-statement of verbal support. Reagan also welcomed the prospect of Canadian companies taking part in SDI. Elsewhere, the U.S. Ambassador to Canada, Thomas Niles, concurred expressing his government's willingness to co-operate with Canadian corporations on SDI. More explicitly still, an American Undersecretary of State, interviewed Sept. 9 on CBC's The Journal, spoke about Canadian firms having "special access" to SDI research.

It is also worth noting that even before Mulroney's announcement, Canadian involvement in SDI was underway. Our much lauded Canadarm is part of the U.S. Space Shuttle which has been conducting top secret missions related to Star Wars.

These steps towards greater Canadian involvement in SDI coincide with the start of negotiations for yet more testing here of the U.S. Cruise missile; a first-strike nuclear weapon. Both developments add to Canada's major role in escalating the nuclear arms race. Both make clear the urgent need for the Canadian disarmament movement to embark on a sustained campaign of militant mass action in response.



W.S.A. on the CNT-U

Greetings.
On behalf of the Workers Solidarity Alliance (U.S. associate of the International Workers Association) I would like to say that we found Mick Larkin's letter a bit troublesome. His letter misrepresents Spanish anarcho-syndicalism.

While it is true that members of the so-called "CNT-U" have bravely endured torture in the wake of strike activity in their areas and should be defended (like all class war prisoners), it is wrong to portray the "CNT-U" as anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist. The "CNT-U" neither refers to itself as anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist. There can be NO two CNT's. Secondly, the so-called "CNT-U" is hostile to the anarcho-syndicalist International Workers Association (A.I.T.) and is in the process of attempting to form a reformist syndicalist international.

Greek Anarchists Protest

Dear comrades,

We'd like to inform you about the recent events that took place in the centre of Athens from the 9th till the 12th of May.

Due to the increasing police oppression on a particular area in the centre of Athens, the "Exarchia" square, a meeting place for leftists, anarchists, freaks, punks, etc., a demonstration was organized on Thursday, the 9th of May, to protest against the "policing of our lives". The chief of "M.A.T." (special units for the suppression of demonstrations) and an attorney leading a strong police force, banned the demonstration



Lebanon

Continued from p. 1

Meanwhile, in Israel, Peace Now and others have been organizing a campaign in the wake of the partial withdrawal from Lebanon calling for an investigation into the war. Some 50,000 Israelis are reported to have signed petitions thus far, but campaigners are frequently attacked and severely beaten by right-wing goons. An active campaign in Israel has been mounted for the pardon and release of Jewish terrorists who have launched pogroms against Palestinians on the West Bank and in Israel (who received extremely light sentences). Demonstrators against this clemency campaign have been beaten by religious fanatics and right-wing goons on a regular basis. Yet the continued existence and growth of an Israeli peace movement despite substantial obstacles is one of the few positive developments in the region. It is precisely because this movement is growing that it is coming under increased attack — ranging from frequent attacks by rightist goon squads to more recent efforts to revoke the parliamentary immunity of the Progressive Peace List's Knesset representative Muhammad Miar for having the audacity to compare PLO terrorism with the activity of the Israeli Defense Forces.

In late June, 1.5 million workers — including many Palestinians — struck against government austerity measures, closing factories, government offices, markets, banks, and newspapers. Increasingly, Israeli workers are becoming dissatisfied with the price they are being asked to pay to keep their Palestinian fellow workers in subjugation. At the same time, many Israelis have become disgusted by their government's military policies. Some Palestinians have tried to link up with these, to pursue their mutual aspirations for justice and freedom. The numbers involved are small, the task they con-

LETTERS TO STRIKE!

Continued from p. 2

Whether the claim that the "CNT-U" is actually an agent of the Spanish state still remains somewhat unclear. However, one must question the motives of those who claim to be the real CNT when millions of dollars are owed to the CNT by the State for property, etc. that was stolen by the fascists at the end of the Spanish Revolution. The opportunists of the CNT-U can make a claim that they are inheritors of "historical patrimony" (properties, etc.) when in fact they are not.

The question of working in company works councils presents a whole other set of questions. No matter what the "CNT-U" claims about turning such works councils into general assemblies

or else "They would attack and eliminate" the demonstrators.

The latter headed to the Chemistry School of Athens University to discuss the situation. On their way they were attacked by units of "M.E.A." (special anti-terrorist squads). The police, helped by fascists, members of extreme right parties beat and arrested demonstrators and poebsy indiscriminately. Some 100 anarchists, freaks etc. occupied the "Chimo", and determined not to abandon it till their arrested comrades be unconditionally set free and the police leave from the area.



is highly dubious. These works councils are by nature vertical and are organized along the same lines as the vertical unions set up by Franco. Real rank & file control can only come from those organisms that are directly controlled by the workers themselves. In this respect the CNT-AIT stands steadfastly by its historic position that only through the above means will the workers make any gains for themselves. We continue to support that position.

In solidarity,
Mitchell Miller
National Secretary, WSA-IWA

In solidarity, several other university schools were occupied by anarchists, leftists etc. all over Greece. The police blocked all the buildings in order to cut any communication. At the "Chimo" they also cut the building's watering and telephone communications, blocking not only the building but also the entire area. At the same time they beat and arrested "guilty" and "not guilty" indiscriminately, something that showed the State's confusion during the pre-electoral period (the elections took place on the 2nd of June). During those days they resisted the police and the extra-rights, taking cover behind two barricades that they had erected, and throwing stones and "Molotov" cocktails.

People's attitude towards the "anarchists" — a term used by the police to characterize almost everybody outside Parliament, varied. All political parties were, from the very first moment, against those "provoking" actions of "subversive elements".

Finally, on Monday the 12th of May, the occupiers decided to abandon the building, after they had been ensured that they wouldn't be arrested and after their comrades had been set free, though under some conditions. They joined a large demonstration that was organized, and "we won".

But the victory is not at all "ours" as some claim it to be. It is a victory of the State, given that the vast majority of people will vote "massively" at the oncoming elections.

With comradely greetings,
"ANARCHOS" Collective

Introducing Q & A

It is a truism to say that most people find something paradoxical about anarchist/libertarian socialist ideas and proposals. Those of a rather more peaceful and understanding nature, not feeling the compulsion to use a sledge hammer against their anarchist fellow human beings politely tell us "you people have good ideas, but these things you talk about don't work in practice".

From the forthcoming issue of *Strike!* and way into the future (however long or short it may be) we will be publishing a new column, the purpose of this is to try to demystify some of the anarchist/libertarian socialist conceptions especially in their practical importance.

It is not an uncommon occurrence when I present certain anarchist ideas to a person with whom I am having a discussion that I'd get interrupted. "Ha" you tell me we don't need bosses.

You think those lazy buggars in GM are doing any work if there is nobody around to watch them and tell them what to do?" or "why would

front, enormous.

In Lebanon, however, even such slight signs of hope do not exist. No one committed to a vision of human freedom and equality can support any of the forces battling it out for state power there. As long as the peoples of the region permit themselves to be used as pawns by those in power, and those who seek it, the bloodshed will continue. Only by overthrowing their rulers and would-be rulers, uniting across "national" and religious lines, and overthrowing the entire edifices of entrenched feudal, sectarian, capitalist and state power can they establish a lasting peace.

Clearing the Air

Dear *STRIKE!*

Arthur Miller's claim that unions determine the price of labor in the market system is ridiculous. If unions determine the price of labor, how does one explain the current trend of wage cuts and union concessions? Is it because union leaders have discovered that wage cuts make them popular with rank and file union members? If unions make the decisions in industry, who do they ever have to go on strike? Miller's "13 years of trade unionism" don't seem to have taught him much.

Neither does Arthur understand what union bureaucracy is all about. A union bureaucrat is not a worker, but a full time paid union officer or staffer. To say that the IWW and the CNT do not have bureaucracies is a simple statement of fact. The IWW has only one paid official, the General Secretary Treasurer. The CNT has no paid officials. Last year I was a member of the IWW General Executive Board, which is an unpaid union office. I continued to work at my regular job during that time.

Before Arthur starts accusing other people of being "bureaucrats", he should look in the mirror. Arthur Miller is currently Secretary of the IWW General Defense Committee. Although I was elected to my Position, Miller was appointed and has served for nearly two years without once having been elected either by IWW members or GDC members. Apparently Arthur is not concerned about centralization as long as he is the one who benefits.

Arthur's beef over what he sees as my "correct line" stems from a disagreement about IWW organizing strategy which we had last year. Miller wanted my support for an organizing plan which involved hiring half a dozen full time paid organizers who would take charge of IWW organizing more or less independently of the General Executive Board and the local branches. I objected to this because I feel that it would provide the basis of a political patronage system in the union and result in less union democracy. I argued for an approach based on organizing committees made up of volunteers, with limited mandates, and accountable to the elected officers of the union. Miller flew off the handle because I wouldn't support his plan and threatened to see me "dead" if I opposed him in the future.

I can't see much point in debating Arthur Miller, who has a record of political infighting equal, if not greater, to mine. This includes the ACF in which Miller had some bitter quarrels of his own, and they were not with me. I continue to respect the work he does for Native American political prisoners and I feel he has a contribution to make. I only wish after all the years of mutual struggles, he would let bygones be bygones.

Fraternally,
Jeff Stein

they want to become a doctor or a chemical engineer if they received the same wages as a secretary?" The list of questions is unlimited. Take one more question of a rather different flavor. "If there was a social upheaval in Canada, given that you anarchists stand against the state and the army, what would you propose if the USA came barging in, just to make sure that Canada stays in the right hand of their conflict with the USSR?"

The format that we plan to give this column is that of a question & answer column. The purpose of the question would be to delimit and

bring forward a certain theme that would be addressed in the answer. The success of this column will depend on us who will put it together but also, most importantly, on you the readers of *Strike!* For a newspaper whose purpose is to expose the myths of contemporary social order with possible ways for realizing this alternative new society, the participation of the readership in this project is vital. Thus we ask from everyone to send us questions, possible answers, suggestions, themes for discussion.

All correspondence should be addressed to: *Strike!* c/o TAG, P.O. Box 571, Station P., Toronto, ONT. CANADA

ideas & action

is the magazine of the **Workers Solidarity Alliance**. We think our struggles against the employers and the government should be run directly by the people whose interests are at stake, not union officials or politicians. If we want to create a society based on direct, collective management of the economy by working people; then we have to begin with rank-and-file control of movements today.

Issue #6:

- **Watsonville Cannery Strike**
- **Pornography & Censorship**
- **The Case for a Shorter Workweek**
- **Spain's port Workers Practice Direct Democracy**
- **Capitalism & Sexism**

Subscriptions: \$8 for individuals (4 issues), Libraries/institutions: \$12. Overseas (i.e. outside Mexico, Canada and the U.S.): \$12. Sample copy: \$2.00.

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San Francisco, CA 94140 USA

Labour Pains

Coolie Wages

Writing about the Malay Peninsula in 1879, British traveller Isabelle Bird reported that when the price of tin fell, the miners known as Chinese coolies, "instead of striking-accept the situation, keep quiet, live more frugally and work for lower wages till things mend."



They didn't call it concession bargaining in those days, but it was still coolie wages.

Wonder of Concessions

The Sheet Metal Workers Union Executive Council has come up with a rather unique way for local unions to grant concessions to employers. The Council established a policy preventing SMU local unions from granting concessions to bosses for the purpose of competing more effectively with non-union competition unless those competitors are all-union themselves.

The mechanism adopted by the union's executive council for halting the practice of "double-breasting" (bosses having one or more that are unionized and an equal number or more that aren't) is to bar contractors the "privileges" of concessions granted to the bosses under the current Sheet Metal Workers' three-year-old program to help make union contractors more "competitive".

In order for an employer to be granted concessions, the boss would have to sign an "integrity clause". A "bad-faith employer" would be one who violated the agreement by continuing their non-union preparations.



There is nothing written into the agreement against those bosses who violate that agreement. There's no course of action by the SMW executive council to deal with those bosses who violate the agreement. Another wonder in the history of the American labour movement.

No Pay Today

The non-observance of paying wages on time has become a wide-spread problem in Indonesia. Recently, 108 workers of the PTST Contractors in Jakarta did not get paid for seven months. The workers are fighting this action with both legal and extra-legal activities.

Letting off Steam?

Workers at both General Electric and Westinghouse will face a tough fight during this year's round of negotiations. Both companies are seeking give-backs and are attempting to robotize more and more of their production. High tech is the direction these companies are moving in. Just recently, both General Electric and Westinghouse have sold part or all of their consumer

divisions. It has been reported in Westinghouse's company press that profits have increased by 11 per cent in the first quarter of 1985 on a two per cent increase in sales. This increase was based on higher productivity by Westinghouse workers in industrial, international, energy and advanced technology, broadcasting and cable television operations.

General Electric profits have increased by 5.4 per cent in the first quarter of 1985, even though sales dropped due to product lines sales and divestitures. Sales were highest in consumer lines.

As in the past number of years, contract negotiations will be conducted by the Co-ordinated Bargaining Committee composed of the 13 unions that represent Westinghouse and General Electric workers. Only the United Electrical Workers Union issues a weekly bulletin informing the workers of what's happening. Shop demonstrations have taken place in many shops organized by the U.E. and more will be on the agenda. The key question for us to consider is whether the bureaucrats will really let us control our struggle or use such demonstrations as methods for letting us blow off steam?

— U.E. Westinghouse Worker



Cleft Stick from London

By Arthur Moyse

The sun is shining but the wind is bleak and cold. The gas fire hisses and burns within the grate and mick the mongrel lies sleeping in the sagging folds of the only good armchair, indifferent to the great social issues of the day. The 20,000 people who marched, walked or rode to the U.S. cruise missile base at Molesworth have made their Easter protest, and marched, walked or rode back home cold, wet and muddy but at peace with their consciences or full of the spirit of the Lord. Meanwhile 2,000 police are busy banking their overtime payments.

The State in its need to keep the uninvited out of these American provided nuclear bases, has dreamed up a new form of perimeter wire. No longer the old romantic barbed wire of two World Wars so beloved of poets, writers, painters and Hollywood upon which so many an innocent, so many a patriot, so many a romantic, and so many a minor film extra hung, like machine gun bullets riddling dirty washing. The new wire contains every few inches built-in blades like safety razor blades. They cannot be grasped with the bare hands or wrapped in a handkerchief. So that those who would seek to enter the nuclear base for their protest against mass annihilation now arrive with wire cutters tucked within their jeans and the charge against them, when arrested, is "causing criminal damage". A week before the Molesworth nuclear protest this Easter, I sat in a small courtroom wherein three people were charged with this offence. There within that small courtroom within a court within that small agrarian township we listened as Pat Arrowsmith argued that it is not criminal to cause damage in defence of one's own or other peoples lives.

This was the first time that this small town's legal Establishment had come into confrontation with peace protesters. The three magistrates and the police were ready to treat the matter as a pleasant liberal joke in dealing with what they held to be slightly wacky members of the 'lunatic left'. But Pat Arrowsmith, grey haired, stocky and intelligent, has fought too many authorities both inside and outside prisons,

wherein the State has fought her, and from the witness box she argued that if they cut the steel bladed wires, as the police accused, then it was new damage but not criminal damage.

She quoted with quiet authority international laws that the British governments have signed its collective names to and the middle class magis-

trates were now worried. For within this quiet country court they found themselves enmeshed in 'not who's sheep had the right of way' but all the awful dignity of international law and of Human Rights. The police seated within the courtroom were no longer smiling as Pat Arrowsmith left the witness box. The magistrates chastened and concerned went into the ol' back room to return later to impose a seventy dollar fine on the three defendants for which the three defendants, two women and one man, stated they would not pay. It will be this matter, argued out in that small quiet country courtroom before a bench of three worried small town magistrates, that will make that nuclear Easter protest for those cold, wet, tired men and women justified.

For those in Britain's parochial Authority kissing the rump of the American government and military will now be forced to argue their case for sacrificing 50,000,000 men, women and children of these small islands as a first warning slaughter house on behalf of an absentee overseas government before their own created European Courts. For the argument is very simply 'Is it criminal to refuse to die?' Even if it means damaging by cutting a few inches of steel bladed wire? We shall know comrades we shall know.

And the British anarchist movement has finally made it for day after day in neat headline after headline. The rightwing national press threatened that 'the anarchists would take over the Molesworth Easter demonstration leading to violence and bloody revolution'. It is indeed good to elbow the communists and Trotskyists off the headline stage after the great days of Conrad and Jack the Ripper. So too it is good to realize that one is now Top of the Popularity horror stakes as the bete noire of the British shuddering rightwing middle class.

As the Hollywood 'bad guys' should say "first they hate you then they love you" and by God I can do with a bit of loving at the moment with so many old repeats on TV and forced to stop drinking alcohol because of my fox hunting gout.

